

Social Programmes in the West

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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THE BARROWS LECTURES

1912-1913

SOCIAL PROGRAMMES IN THE WEST

LECTURES DELIVERED IN THE FAR EAST

BY

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PREFACE

My University, through our honoured President H. P. Judson, has opened the way for me to visit the Orient and deliver my life-message there on the foundation of the Barrows Lectureship. The limits of time and space precluded detailed discussion of the vast themes which are opened up in the lectures here presented. But the necessity of selecting elements from the social activities of Europe and America which might have value in the Orient under widely different conditions, compelled a consideration of the materials from a new point of view. Instinctively the mind sifts the ideas which must be transported across the ocean, and gives to them a different form and dress.

While in attendance at the memorable "social week" at Zurich in September, 1912, my colleagues in the three great international associations for labour legislation, added to the responsibilities of my journey in the Orient, by asking me to present their aims wherever it was possible in India, China, and Japan. For this mark of their confidence I am truly grateful, and I have done what I could to carry out their wishes as expressed in the official letter herewith printed and signed by men made famous throughout the world for their high merit as servants of humanity and social science.

While my grateful appreciation of courtesies and friendly service shown me by numerous kind persons cannot be expressed in words, I wish here to record my sincere thanks for the many helpful deeds which have made my journey fruitful and instructive to me.

Owing to the conditions of printing, proof-reading by the author was impossible; I am grateful to the publishers for their attention to the corrections.

Charles Richmond Henderson.

BOMBAY, Nov. 1912.

LETTER OF COMMISSION

Zurich, September 11, 1912.

Dear Mr. Henderson,

The International Associations for the Legal Protection of Workmen, for the Combat with Unemployment, and for Social Insurance, have learned with intense pleasure that you are about to travel in the Extreme Orient, and particularly in China, Japan, and India, to speak on social questions, with special reference to the aims pursued by the international associations which deal with the labour problem.

Our associations, which have not yet been able to come into contact very closely with the countries you are about to visit and to establish sections there, feel keenly the need of a movement in this matter, and they will be grateful to you for any assistance you can render in this task. The study of problems of emigration makes this effort indispensable.

In working for the establishment of sections in those countries which have so great interest, you will at the same time render a service to all our three associations. We should be very grateful to all those who take an interest in one or all of our associations, or in the work which we represent in Europe, and who support your effort in any way possible.

Our three associations wish for your large success.

Accept, dear Sir, the assurance of our great respect:

In the name of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Working-Men, of the Permanent Committee of Social Insurance, and of the International Association for the Combat with Unemployment:

The General Secretaries:

ST. BAUER (*Bâle*)

Legal Protection

ED. FUSTER (*Paris*)

Social Insurance

MAX LAZARD (*Paris*)

Unemployment

LOUIS VARLEZ (*Ghent*)

Unemployment

The Vice-Presidents:

ADRIEN LACHANAL (*Geneva*)

Legal Protection

G. VON MAYR (*Munich*)

Social Insurance

MARQUIS FERRERO DE CAM-

BIANO (*Turin*). *Social Insurance*

RICH. FREUND (*Berlin*)

Unemployment

The Presidents:

R. POINCARÉ

Insurance

LÉON BOURGEOIS

Unemployment

HENRY SCHERRER

Legal Protection.

To Mr. CH. HENDERSON, Vice-President of the International Committee on Social Insurance, Professor at the University of Chicago.

AIMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS ON SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Statement of Professor E. FUSTER, Paris.

You cannot conceal from yourselves the unhappy fact that where there is rapid economic progress there is also, unless great care is taken, an increase of human suffering; the exaltation of certain forces works to the detriment of the feeble; there is a disturbance of the equilibrium of the social body; but no country can escape the tendency. The problems which cannot be avoided are: an increasing number of persons unemployed, inadequate adaptation of forces to the demand, and subjection of the weak to rough labour, excessive duration of toil, unwholesome arrangements in the workplace, absence of devices for the prevention of accidents and poisoning, want of protection of income for the workman and his family in times when sickness, accident, and old age deprive him of his ability to earn wages.

It is generally the waste of human life resulting from accident, and the exploitation of women and children employed in factories, which seem to appeal most to public sentiment and which torment the conscience of men of political influence. But it would be wrong to act, as has been the case in some countries, as if with two or three reforms the work has been achieved; all the problems arise and a country must pass through the entire series, soon or late. For, the labour problem is in reality only the expression of the most profound and universal needs of humanity, and is the same in all lands,—the labourer in the world without resources.

To have employment in a trade one has learned, thanks to fit means of knowing the places where labour is wanted; to make sure that this work is the normal play of energy

and not exhaustion; that it is done under safe and wholesome conditions; that growing children and the mothers of future generations are not used up; to be assured that when in spite of all precautions the producer is exhausted, a compensation shall be provided for himself and his survivors,—this is the object.

The social history of the last twenty-five years reveals some noble efforts of certain nations to respond by law, by regulations, by the action of local authorities, by unions of workers to this threefold and universal need. One after another the nations have come to comprehend the value of a policy which without discouraging economic initiative, and even in its interest, conserves the health and productive energies of the people.

You know through how many difficulties and by what experiments these nations have opened the road of reform. It is the privilege of countries which to-day enter this policy, and whom we solicit to enter freely without neglecting any element of the problem, to profit by the inspiring experiments already made.

It is here that our three associations proffer their assistance. They arose separately, at different times, but each from the need felt everywhere for information and international discussion.

They respond to the three great needs which we have described and cover the whole field of the precarious condition of workers.

In 1889, the first international congress on accidents of labour gave birth to a permanent international committee which became an international association under the name of the Permanent International Committee on Social Insurance and which is devoted to the diffusion of knowledge of legal and voluntary experiments in the matter of insurance against sickness, invalidism, accident, old age, and premature death.

In the following year, 1890, the International Conference for the Protection of Labour convened at Berlin, may be considered as the point of departure for the efforts which resulted in the creation of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Labour, an association which, supported by the official bureau of labour founded by a considerable number of governments at Basel, has succeeded in introducing into various legislations fruitful measures for protection against abuses of working men and women.

Finally, and more recently, the need having been felt of devoting a new organization to the study of the problems of unemployment, the International Association on Unemployment now works side by side with the others.

The executive committees of these three associations, united in the conviction that they have a common object, and that, if a nation does effective service for the protection of labourers and national conservation, it must include citizens informed in respect to *all* aspects of the problem, have agreed to make appeal to persons interested in public good in countries where the protection of workmen has hardly begun and where public opinion has not yet made a satisfactory response to our individual efforts.

Therefore, they now address you to place at your disposition the united forces of the three international groups, and their information and publications.

They ask you to create an agitation, in respect to some form of organization adapted to your country.

NOTE.—Requests for further information about any one or all of these associations, the cost of publications, and the conditions of membership, may be sent to Mr. LOUIS VARLEZ, Coupure, Ghent, Belgium.

SYLLABUS

LECTURE I

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL PROGRAMMES IN ECONOMIC FACTS AND IN SOCIAL IDEALS

The generous and friendly reception accorded my predecessors in this Lectureship assures me of a welcome and a sympathetic hearing. The subject is of world-wide interest, because of the common elements and needs of human nature and the industrial transformation of the East.

Not as an advocate of a policy for the East, but as an interpreter of the struggles of men of the West, the lecturer seeks to disclose the growing human purpose of Christian people as manifested in movements and institutions. 'The promotion of the highest interests of humanity' was one of the purposes of Mrs. Haskell in founding the Lectureship, and one of these highest interests is the blessing brought by Christianity to the world. With Christianity all kinds of good flow to all the continents.

I

The economic evolution of the modern world defines the forms and sets some of the problems of social programmes.

1. Characteristics of the mediæval in contrast with the modern economic organization of society in Europe. In the older industrial order we find the isolated, self-sufficing village community, rudimentary division of labour, meagre capital, small craftsmen, local market, inadequate transportation, operatives servile or semi-servile. Modern industry reveals interdependence of industries, large scale of production, aggregation of capital, expert management, creation of a wage-earning class, legally free, but economically dependent. India, China, and Japan are passing from the former condition to the latter (Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E., *The Economic Transition in India*). This progress in the West has cost much suffering, waste, and

loss; India may avoid our mistakes, secure the advantages of the great industry and 'not lose the lofty idealism by which she has hitherto been so nobly distinguished'. The Western peoples groped their way for centuries without the aid of modern science and medical art; the Orient can have this as a free gift.

2. India is not stagnant, is capable of development. Reasoning from European history, we learn that ideas are permanent forces and outlast conquests; a great race is not annihilated; metaphysical meditation needs to be enriched and made sane by scientific method and practical effort; the nations of the East have already shown capacity for mastering the new organization; science is not patented nor monopolized, and has no frontiers.

II

SOCIAL FAITH IN THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE OCCIDENT

Social faith is the inspiring principle of the programmes. It is a religious conviction that the universe has a meaning and that meaning is good, which moves the people. Charity is the life of religion, certainly of Christianity. It is morality exalted, religion with ethical direction which gives a soul to the campaign for welfare. Out of the heart are the issues of life, and the issue itself is helpful action. By works faith becomes visible, luminous; the test of Christian discipleship is treatment of the hungry, the sick, the blind, the criminal. New knowledge increases responsibility. Ways once tolerable are now sinful. The scientific method is to find facts, and proceed by a sensible way to solve problems.

III

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THESE LECTURES

1. Not to interfere with the native employment of a strange people; each nation must grow from within.

2. A description of the aims and methods of Western policies may be suggestive and helpful.

3. Principles of organization and conduct are based on universal factors of human nature.

4. In fellowship of discussion we all rise to broader views and deepen our charity.

5. We are to consider those who are dependent upon public or private charity for relief or support, the members of anti-social groups, the wage-earners, and the unskilled toilers on the land, and finally, the function and mission of exceptional men as starting points of a new advance of the race.

6. The elements of a social policy must include a consideration of public health, the means of increasing industrial efficiency, and spiritual satisfactions in science, art, morality, and religion. 'Social welfare' means infinitely more than material comfort. War, misery, deep poverty, hateful revolution, partisanship, sedition, class hatred, are hindrances.

7. The interest of all humanity is the ground of a social policy, not the interest of a class, a sect, a party. Human life is precious. Our relations are vital. The truly great nation 'lifts up the manhood of the poor'.

The Western World has not realized its ideals and never will realize them, for the nobler a life the more rapidly aims expand. We have committed great mistakes and wrongs. Yet our purpose is more elevated, our action is better directed, our labours are more aggressive and effective than ever before. We have achieved results once thought impossible, and our victories give heart to good men the world over.

LECTURE II

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELIEF OF DEPENDENTS AND ABNORMALS

Social policies have their roots in charity. Misery tests our economic, legal, and moral systems. Some have proposed to permit the incapable to perish. Our morality and religion forbid this course. Life and personality are sacred; our beliefs require us to show mercy to the unfit and kindness to animals.

1. Subnormal and depended members of society have always existed: feeble-minded, insane, senile, crippled, ignorant.

II. Sympathy is organic; product of evolution; enlarged and purified by Christianity. Charitable relief in Christendom has passed through various stages: 1. in the primitive Churches it was voluntary and congregational; 2. in the mediæval times it was ecclesiastical with state patronage, administered by bishops, priests, orders, hospitals; 3. since the Reformation the duty of relief has come to be regarded as rational, with private charity as supplementary—to help in special cases, to try experiments, to criticize public relief, to save from 'pauper' record. England had the first poor law under Queen Elizabeth.

III. Relief of needy families in their homes, to prevent the disruption of family bonds. Families are responsible for each member, so far as able.

The poor help each other, but require community-aid in certain situations: 1. sickness of bread-winner; 2. moral delinquency and neglect of parents; 3. death of parents; 4. enforced unemployment.

Danger of pauperization to be averted, by thorough knowledge of the family, by discipline of delinquents, by adequate relief, by refusal to aid those who refuse work they can do. Co-operation of relief agencies: 1. by central registration; 2. agreement among agencies in legal control, where necessary; 3. selection of proper fund; 4. understanding about refusal of relief.

CHARITY-ORGANIZATION SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA

It aims to secure co-operation: 1. a voluntary association; 2. local offices to discover the destitute; 3. prompt relief of urgent distress; 4. investigation of conditions; 5. system of records; 6. information about institutions of relief; 7. study of causes of misery; 8. policy of prevention; 9. education of the public and securing legislation.

The 'Elberfeld System', German municipal organization of relief: 1. expert director; 2. convenient districts, with unpaid visitors uniting in committees; 3. central records; 4. general ordinances to secure uniformity. Advantages of this system are: 1. a corps of intelligent citizens study the

needs of the poor; 2. adequate funds and personal attention of many visitors.

IV. Institutional relief, for those who have no homes. The hospice or hospital was, in the middle ages, of a general character; modern institutions are highly specialized.

1. Children are separated from adults and placed in families; 2. old people in special establishments; 3. medical charity, hospitals, dispensaries, nursing; 4. educational charity; 5. abnormals — insane, epileptics, feeble-minded — with appropriate medical, industrial, and educational treatment; 6. the blind, deaf, and crippled, to be trained to self-support.

V. Relief in times of public calamity.

Immunity from famines and pestilence due to: 1. favourable climate; 2. irrigation, where needed; 3. effective transportation systems; 4. insurance; 5. public subscriptions and grants in emergencies. The Red Cross Society?

VI. Policy of prevention of misery.

The tendency of relief is to increase the number of weaklings and so of the miserable; hence, to avoid defeat, charity must become scientific and preventive.

A preventive policy must include: 1. eugenic action and selection by segregation and gradual elimination of the incapable; 2. education; 3. control and discipline of difficult citizens; 4. reduction of the conditions which produce sickness; 5. social legislation on behalf of the wage-earning groups.

The eugenic action required is already demonstrated in celibate colonies of the feeble-minded, epileptic, and insane.

LECTURE III

POLICY OF THE WESTERN WORLD IN RELATION TO THE ANTI-SOCIAL

The West has achieved wonderful success in the conquest of nature, the extension of science, the abolition of slavery, the development of art and philosophy, the limitation and

prevention of disease and famine; for coming generations it remains to abolish war, misery, vice, and crime.

Macaulay's great codes make the principles of our law familiar in the East; but our discussion touches the deeper foundations of social treatment of offenders.

I. The anti-social persons.

Even public enemies are human, citizens, brothers.

II. Extent of crime.

1. Professional criminals, dangerous, but few.

2. A multitude of minor offenders. City life has complicated regulations; contravention of these not criminal; hence, statistics misleading.

3. Many real crimes concealed.

4. In any calculation crime is appalling and demands serious effort to repress and prevent. Civilization multiplies temptation, both downward and upward.

III. Kinds of criminals and offenders.

No organized tribes or bands of robbers.

1. The irresponsible offenders: insane.

2. Border-land cases.

3. Defective delinquents.

4. Young offenders, educable, in moral peril.

5. Habitual criminals: (*a*) weaklings, probably defective; (*b*) trained, dangerous, professional criminals.

IV. The social purpose in the treatment of offenders; various aspects.

1. The protection of great social interests: order, security of life and property, peace, health, reputation, morality. Pain is a warning, a deterrent. 'General prevention'.

2. Doubtful, though often defended, is the purpose of retribution; more and more rejected as civilization becomes more clear in its vision and self-control.

3. Reformation of the offender; restoration of the erring to his normal place in social relations, so far as possible.

V. Measures available to attain these ends.

1. The fine: deprivation of property.

2. Imprisonment.

3. Death penalty: gradually disappearing.

4. Probation of offenders, without incarceration, and parole of convicts after a period of deprivation of liberty.

VI. Juvenile Courts.

Formerly children, from the twelfth year, were legally regarded and treated as criminals; this led to dangerous leniency or to association with depraved adults. Gradually the educational purpose was adopted and in 1899, Illinois adopted the juvenile court law, since then accepted in other states and in Europe. First International Conference in Paris in 1911.

Essential features of the juvenile court: 1. a separate court room, free from criminal suggestions, with a detention home; 2. a suitable judge; 3. probation officers, agents of the court; 4. a psychologist to study the children.

VII. A policy of prevention.

Cure comes too late; prevention is more effective and economical.

Crime is prevented by the exercise of universal justice. Incitements to vice and crime may be removed by public authority, supported by public opinion. The normal satisfaction of natural desires diminishes temptation; for example, by social settlements, Young Men's Christian Association, municipal recreations, the action of Churches, inspired by John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, E. C. Wines, and others. Miss Jane Addams, LL.D., reveals the work of religion: 'The method of Jesus was. . . the overcoming of the basest evil by the august power of goodness, . . . the breaking up of long entrenched evil by the concerted good-will of society'.

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LECTURE IV

PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND MORALS

SECTION I. HEALTH, INTEREST, AND SOCIAL DUTY

Ethical justification of a social policy relating to health. In personality physical conditions are causal factors: as in injury to the brain, drugs, feeble-mindedness, illness.

Western World assumes that care of health is a duty: the value of all human life, not that of the rich alone. Pessimism regarded as an oddity or a disease. The race which believes will become strong; doubt tends to neglect and death of a people.

The value of vigorous vitality: in family, in industry, in business, in religion. Jesus was a minister of health. The Christian idea of the body as a temple. The medical profession in India an honour to the world; representing the fraternity of science.

A few topics selected to illustrate the world movement. The hook-worm disease, one of the international problems. Public hygiene a sacred international duty. The bubonic plague, the concern of all.

1. *The infant welfare movement.*

Complex of motives—pecuniary and altruistic. Infanticide of the ancient world; effort of the primitive Christian Church.

Factors in a practical programme. 1. Removal of unwholesome conditions in dwellings, milk-supply, venereal disease, alcoholism. 2. Protection of mothers by factory laws; insurance, training of midwives and physicians, care of household; maternity hospitals. 3. Care of infants outside institutions: legal supervision, medical inspection, instruction of ignorant mothers, feeding, pure milk. 4. Supplementary institutions: day nurseries, infant hospitals, asylums, placing out. 5. Professional education. 6. Propaganda.

SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAMME

II. *Dwellings.* Problem of housing arises with the growth of industrial towns. 1. Duty to protect tenants. 2. Measures:

the city plan; standards of structure and condition; inspection; condemnation of unfit houses: cheap and rapid transportation; suburban towns; co-operation in ownership; municipal schemes.

III. *School hygiene.* Gratuitous and compulsory attendance has dangers to be prevented by a policy covering construction of school houses, inspection of children, medical control and care, feeding of the hungry, special classes for defectives.

IV. *Urban hygiene.* 1. Water-supply. 2. Sewage disposal. 3. Prevention of communicable diseases by care of food and drink, air, insects, inspection, isolation, diagnosis, disinfection, education of the people.

V. *Industrial hygiene.* Public regulations of workshops and mines. Prevention of accidents and of occupational diseases. Codes of rules. Examination of workmen. Hospital care. Inspectors. Instruction of wage-earners in modes of protection.

VI. *Rural hygiene.* This branch of public medicine not so progressive. Great need of education, laws, administration.

VII. *The steps and direction of progress.* From the demoniac theory to prayer and sacrifice; the filth theory of explanation; bacteriology; epidemiology, the latest, watching people rather than things.

Victories of preventive medicine; over rabies, diphtheria, cholera, small-pox, tuberculosis. Results of scientific philanthropy confirm social faith. Contrast with middle ages in Europe—charitable but hopeless. Easier now to believe in a good God.

SECTION II. POPULAR EDUCATION AND MORALITY

Physical health is essential to existence; education and morality are necessary to higher life. 1. The ends of education are the ends of human life itself: physical soundness and efficiency, mental power, worthy character. 2. Education has three methods: control (coercion), instruction (information), and character-building (nurture). Social reform and amelioration are promoted only by education, in the widest, highest sense—not mere acquisition of knowledge. All Western peoples have become convinced of the necessity of universal education.

Free institutions cannot be built on the quicksand of ignorance, untruth, and selfishness. Money spent on schools is not an expense, but an investment.

The chief social agencies of education: 1. The Home, under the guidance of refined and religious mothers. The Family is the primary school of character and spirituality, and intelligent women there reign and teach. 2. Elementary schools, practically gratuitous, tending to be obligatory, as rapidly as income will permit, and trained teachers are available. 3. Secondary and higher education, either gratuitous or otherwise, accessible to the poor; colleges and Universities supported by endowments and by state subsidies and grants; This system the product of over 300 years of effort and sacrifice. Influence of the Reformation and the Renaissance; Luther, Louis Vives, Erasmus. 4. The Churches, no longer wasting energy and money on controversies, co-operate for the religious and moral education of children and youth. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. as splendid and sensible auxiliaries. Numerous schools for special classes. In some lands religion is taught in state schools; everywhere a high morality. Even in central public schools literature, biography, history, music and noble teachers keep religion and goodness in mind. 5. Newspapers are cheap; Free Libraries extending everywhere; almost all can read and write; women share in discussion of all subjects of large interest. Vast sums given by rich men to supplement public funds. Duty of parents to protect, maintain, and educate, recognized in fundamental morality and law.

LECTURE V

MOVEMENTS TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF WAGE-EARNERS

Rise of the 'industrial group' from ancient slavery, serfdom and customary status; gradual progress from barbarism and mediæval ages to the present. The modern wage-earner has gained legal and political liberty, but not economic independence.

The great industry has revolutionized social relations. The United States, the last of the great nations to be transformed; free from some evils, but burdened by immigration and sequences of slavery of negroes.

The present system includes: 1. private property; 2. capitalistic management; 3. profits to owners; 4. wages to operatives; 5. legal freedom of contract. The new politics — economic conscience; social duty to workers. Testimonies of capitalists and publicists.

THE POLICY AND ITS PRINCIPLES

I. Regulated liberty of organization; mutual benefit associations; trade unions for collective bargaining; attitude of employers; abuses; regulation; conciliation and arbitration: trade courts.

II. Protection by law of health, comfort, and safety of workmen.

III. The beginning of a movement to establish by law a minimum wage. Historical attempts to regulate wages. The new basis, value of personality, worth of man.

British colonies in the lead. Recent British legislation, and law of Massachusetts. Discontent with parasitic industries.

IV. Industrial training. Higher wages come with increased product, with greater efficiency of labour and management. 'Education' includes all preparation for efficient living. Mere literary instruction leaves men helpless. Types, technical training.

V. Continuity of income; prevention of loss of income from sickness, accident, involuntary unemployment. The programme of factory legislation.

Conflict with unemployment, whose evils are now better understood. Crises, depressions, seasons, maladjustments — all beyond individual control. Ameliorative measures: labour exchanges; foresight of public powers; industrial training of the unfit; vocational guidance for youth.

VI. Social insurance against inevitable loss. Defects of charity and individual savings. Sickness, accident, invalidism, old age, death of father, unemployment are regular and calculable, therefore, insurable.

To all these partial economic measures the modern workman seeks to have a creative share in political government.

VII. Ethical and spiritual significance of these policies. Prudence, national interest involved; but also philanthropy, justice, religion. They cannot be carried out by individuals or classes; they require co-operation, brotherhood, faith. Self-interest is too weak. Religion includes all good for all men. The movement and agencies to promote the culture interests of the Industrial Group. The vision of 'Faith and the Future'.

VIII. Women as beneficiaries and agents of social improvement; beliefs, ideals, efforts in the West.

Christianity teaches the infinite worth and personal responsibility of every human being; race and sex are indifferent. Women have a right to health, intelligence, virtue, hope, faith, justice, and to all means of culture. Secondary differences of sex do not affect the supreme qualities. Men need educated, refined, large-minded companions. Children cannot be properly reared by gossips, frivolous and ignorant mothers. Society is degraded when women are despised. A nation which neglects its girls loses more than half its efficiency, power, and virtue. The treatment of women is the best single test of national culture. Goethe expressed Western conviction in *Faust*: 'The woman soul leadeth us upward and onward'.

LECTURE VI

PROVIDING FOR PROGRESS OF NATION AND HUMANITY

Progress here means: 1. improvement in the capacity and energy of a people; 2. better conditions of existence; 3. enrichment of knowledge, art, and character of the people by discovery; democratic ideals to be conserved.

1. Material conditions of advance: 1. surplus wealth, above animal needs; 2. leisure, not through slavery and oppression, but by shortening hours of labour, through improved machinery and organization and legislation (leisure here means not unemployment nor indolence, but a chance at

higher work); 3. abundant vitality. The 'social policy' already sketched is the method of securing these conditions to the people everywhere.

II. The eugenic movement.

1. Natural selection is result of struggle and survival of the adapted. Progress in low stages of life won by this means; the tendency of the ages is upward. But natural selection is costly, wasteful, painful.

2. In the process of evolution sympathy was created; care for the weak; but emotion alone is blind and unintentionally increases misery.

3. The eugenic movement brings science to the aid of sympathy, reason to the help of charity. Confused hints in the *Laws of Manu*. Rules for selecting a wife. Plato had a vision, but his method was immoral. Sir Francis Galton deserves honour for starting the modern investigation. Negative and positive eugenics.

III. Starting points of spiritual progress. Vitality, wealth, leisure are only material conditions. Ideals necessary. Materialism only one aspect of life, of history, of sociology. The primary impulse must come from novel ideas, usually embodied in distinguished personalities. The new creation may begin in science, in philosophy, in religion, and may take form in invention, organization, administration.

Culture is not inherited; it must be acquired by each individual; but the expressions of science, art, philosophy, religion are handed down by society, and ideas are diffused by education, imitation.

IV. Humble talents, as well as genius, may add to the common heritage.

V. A regime of freedom of thought, speech, and publication is necessary to progress of knowledge. Fanatics and criminals make freedom difficult to maintain, since order and security are necessary to all other goods. Impossible to foresee genius; liberty of expression and criticism alone will tell. The criticism of the competent is the method of sifting out chaff. Dogmatic assertion of authority, by Church or school or party, not needed by modern scholars. Danger to

respect for religion from an intolerant and narrow temper in Church leaders.

VI. Educational institutions stimulate, guide, discipline, and inspire personal progress. Education is more than instruction. Instruction in elementary and secondary schools imparts what is known; the true University discovers new truths; but individual gifts, creative originality must be developed at every stage of education.

VII. The development and significance of nation-building in the West; from tribe to city and feudal organization; the function of kings, as Charlemagne, and central royal power. Outline of the formation of the British People; the unification of Italy, Germany, France, the United States (vast assimilation of foreign elements, and its methods). The vision of nationality in Asia. Intellectual, economic, and most pre-conditions of true, modern, national spirit.

VIII. The kingdom of God, the social ideal of Christendom. The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world only the political aspect of universal harmony. The consummation beyond the horizon; the vision already potent in influence. The 'Symphony' of Lanier. The prophesy of Tennyson:

'Ring out the old, ring in the new.

Ring in the Christ that is to be.'

The universal, unsectarian prayer: 'Our Father who art in heaven; Thy Kingdom come'.

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LECTURE ONE

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL PROGRAMMES IN ECONOMIC FACTS AND IN IDEALS

The kind reception given to my predecessors in this Lectureship assures me at once of a genial welcome. We shall have a good understanding, if I assure you that my errand is frankly not to advise the people of India what to do, but rather to give an exposition of a great movement in the Western World, which the Germans call "Social Politics". The topics and contents of these lectures are very different from those offered you in such brilliant and eloquent form by Drs. Barrows, Fairbairn, and Hall. Stranger as I am to this wonderful country, I could not be sure that the themes, which it is my daily duty to consider and expound at home, would be suitable for India. It seemed to me an experiment; but those who appointed me thought it was an experiment worth trying, and several residents of India said they thought the selection of subjects was appropriate. I am profoundly grateful for the confidence shown me by the directors of the Lectureship.

Human nature being, in all *essential* elements, the same the world over, the experiments tried in Europe or the United States are sure to have some value in the East. This is at least the assumption which underlies the argument. We are here to think of universal human interests, far above the conflicts of partisanship and the struggles of ambitious leaders for position and office. We are to consider *that system of measures which is designed to promote the welfare of the common people—welfare at once vital, economic, and cultural.* This brief definition will naturally be illustrated by the entire discussion.

At the University of Chicago we have teachers of various forms of faith, even agnostics, sometimes Oriental scholars. If a gentleman of fair name and repute comes from Asia, the fact that he is a Mohammedan, Hindu, Confucianist or Buddhist will not deprive him of a courteous hearing. Our belief is that truth is self-evidencing and can bear comparison with error; and also that truth is revealed in some degree to all men in all parts of the earth. If a man speaks among us, we wish him to say exactly what he thinks and to give his reasons.

That liberty and courtesy, I understand, I am to enjoy here. I have come in no dogmatic spirit, and ask only that thoughtful consideration of my positions and arguments which your own kindness and self-respect will guarantee and which I can assure to you, if you visit America or Europe.

I could not conceal, if I would, the faith by which I live. I am a theist and a Christian. I believe in God the Holy, and I find His image in Christ. There is mystery in faith and there are many things I do not profess to know; but the Christian view of life, of God, of sin, of duty, of redemption, of eternal life, seems to me inherently reasonable, and practically the best for mankind. It is the deepest, most earnest wish and prayer of my soul that you will think of my Master lovingly, as, I am sure, He is your friend.

I have come to tell you something of the modern revelation of Christ's spirit in works of love, kindness, and justice; what He is doing through men for the infant, the sick, the insane, the poor, the criminal, the toiling and ill-paid wage-earner. This concrete message, I believe, may be helpful here, interfused with the essential spirit which gives it all aim, ideal, worth, meaning. This is what I say and do at home, in Chicago; and I cannot change my message here, for it would not be honest.

I am to speak on the foundation established by an honoured friend of my University, Mrs. Haskell; who also caused to be built for us an oriental museum, on which is carved in stone the significant motto: *Ex Oriente Lux*. She wrote in her letter establishing the Barrows Lectureship:

I have been struck with the many points of harmony between the different faiths, and by the possibility of so presenting Christianity to others as to win their favourable interest in its truths. If the committee shall decide to utilize this Lectureship still further in calling forth the views of scholarly representatives of non-Christian faiths, I authorize and shall approve such a decision. Only good will grow out of such a comparison of views.

...I cherish the expectation that the Barrows Lectures will prove, in the years that shall come, a new golden bond between the East and West. In the belief that this foundation will be blessed by our Heavenly Father to the extension of the benign influence of our great University, to the promotion of the highest interests of humanity, and to the enlargement of the Kingdom of Truth and Love on earth,

I remain, with much regard,

Yours sincerely,

Caroline E. HASKELL.

With the aims of Mrs. Haskell here expressed I am in profound sympathy. Dr. Barrows himself was my warm personal friend.

I believe that the essential truths of Christianity are reasonable and practical in all the world. They were first announced by an Oriental and they were wrought out in the experience of the Orient. They have been a blessing to us and we believe they belong to all men and can be made a blessing to all who receive them.

I

The Economic Evolution of modern peoples defines the outward form and material conditions of the problems of social programmes.

The material world is a reality, and it is ever changing. Life upon this planet never continues precisely the same. The conditions of existence determine for us the limits of effort and the material means by which we can work to achieve our purposes.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MEDIÆVALISM

In order to give a historic background for this discussion, it will be necessary to allude to the economic condition of European society before the age of science and steam-driven machinery. The period of transition extended from the close of the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, but each country had its own rate of speed in passing over this stage of evolution; and the changes of the last hundred years have proceeded more swiftly than those of any preceding age.

In the older industrial order the historians have discovered and depicted¹ the following traits: 1. The village or small community was isolated, and, in consequence, economically independent and self-sufficient. 2. The division of labour was imperfect and rudimentary. 3. The capital employed in each unit of industry was small. 4. The direction of industry was in the hands of the small craftsmen, each of whom worked independently on his own account. 5. Trade was largely barter, and international commerce was chiefly in articles of luxury. The market was narrow and under rigid regulations. Prices were fixed more by custom than by competition. 6. The means of transportation were so imperfect that the irregularities

¹ SIR THEODORE MORISON, K. C. I. E., *The Economic Transition in India*. -- G. SCHMOLLER, *Mercantilism*. -- SOM-BART, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*. --

W. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. -- K. BÜCHER, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*. -- A. TOYNBEE, *The Industrial Revolution*.

of production could not be adjusted. Local famine could not be relieved by importations from favoured regions. 7. Vast numbers of the population were in a servile or semi-servile status, without hope of rising. Many were mendicants and parasites by profession, and their guilds were sometimes recognized as legitimate or were holy.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN INDUSTRY AND EXCHANGE

1. The interdependence of all parts of the industrial world upon each other. 2. The concentration of labour in factories and manufacturing centres, where it is minutely divided and graded. 3. The aggregation of capital in large amounts so as to secure the advantage of production on a large scale. 4. The direction of industry and commerce by expert managers, selected by a fierce competitive process. 5. The creation of a group of persons dependent on daily wages for their livelihood; neither slave nor serf, but free, yet without the instruments of production and, therefore, subordinate to capitalist managers.

This skeleton of contrasting forms is altogether too absolute and requires considerable modification to make it conform to the reality. As a matter of fact, even in the advanced countries of Europe and America all the historical forms of industry and production still exist and persist, although the older forms tend to retire into obscure corners and the Great Industry tends to dominate the national life. Thus we find still surviving the hunting of game and fishing in the sea and inland streams; the members of a household producing many articles of food and clothing to be consumed in the same household. In other cases we still find artisans going from farm to farm to repair machinery, or seamstresses going from house to house making clothing for wages, themselves being without

capital save simple tools, and the customer furnishing materials. The higher form of organization is found when the small manufacturer makes articles to order for his personal circle of customers in the village or rural neighbourhood. Still more developed is the stage, found even in large cities, where the trader sends out the raw materials to be worked up in the houses of the workmen, while he sells the finished product to the general trade and not to particular consumers. This shows that India is not essentially different from Europe and America; that it has all the same industrial organizations; and that the differences lie in the *degree* of development. All forms which serve an end well and are adapted to the conditions of life have their justification¹ and will persist so long as they are useful.

In the book of Morison just now cited, it is shown that India, apparently, is passing through a transition similar to that from which European nations have emerged,—— similar though not identical. Agriculture is still dominant in India as in Europe of the past. The population is diffused over the land. The village community has been independent and supported itself by its simple, primitive industries. The implements of toil have been primitive. The means of transportation have been defective or wanting. Railways are of recent origin and development. Now, India is building large establishments, extending railways, attracting labourers from farms to factories, and is passing from a situation where custom and status rule social relations to one where the workers have no ownership in the costly machinery of production nor in the product of their labour, but depend upon capitalists and traders for wages. Point for point India is following the same lines of economic evolution; how rapidly, we do not yet know. What

¹ See BÜCHER, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, p. 163, 2. Aufl., 1898.

is rare and exceptional now in small groups of wage-earners under capitalistic enterprise may before very long come to be very general and important.

The economic process which I have just characterized was never in any country the result of a definite plan or social policy. It moved by forces which were out of sight. The individual choices of the plans of particular men were engulfed in this oceanic current and borne onward.

But the movements which we are here to illustrate are real policies; they are the programmes of human beings acting by concerted public volition, in view of common knowledge and for common ends.

The wisdom of formulating such a general, national, far-looking policy appears in this citation (conclusion of Morison, pp. 241-2): "This brief survey of a large question must now be brought to an end; the conclusion to which it points is that India's industrial transformation is near at hand; the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the adoption of modern methods of manufacture have been removed; means of transport have been spread over the face of the whole country, capital for the purchase of machinery and erection of factories may now be borrowed on easy terms; mechanics, engineers, and business managers may be hired from Europe to train the future captains of Indian industry. In English a common language has been found in which to transact business with all the provinces of India and with a great part of the Western World; security from foreign invasion and internal commotion justifies the inception of large enterprises. All the conditions are favourable for a great reorganization of industry which, when successfully accomplished, will bring about an increase hitherto undreamt of in India's annual output of wealth. Whether this change will be accompanied by the evils which have disfigured the industrial revolution in the West is a question which lies behind the

curtain of the future. We can only hope that India may be warned in time by the example of Europe, and that her industrial revolution may not be disfigured by the reckless waste of human life and human happiness which has stained the annals of European industry. Most of all must we wish that in the fierce struggle for material wealth she may not lose the lofty idealism by which she has hitherto been so nobly distinguished." Morison has proved that India is now on the right road to economic prosperity; that she can win the means of subsistence and that at a higher level than ever before, for all her citizens.

My lectures aim to give the most important lessons of this costly Western experience as to the wisest means of avoiding what Morison fears.

It does not seem to me necessary that Japan, China, and India should repeat our blunders and grope their way. We in the West had to pass over a route which had never been explored. It was a voyage toward an unknown world. When the Western peoples began their new economic career, modern science was not yet born. Medical art was in a backward state. Public hygiene was in its infancy. Europe and America can now offer without price to the Orient all that it has bought at so great a cost of trial and failure, of ordered experiment and bungling error.

To indicate in large outlines what we have gained and have to present to nations just entering the "Industrial Revolution" is one purpose of these lectures.

India is not stagnant.

Stanley-Lane-Poole (*Mediæval India under Moham-medan Rule, 712-1764*) concludes his learned and instructive book by saying:

The conquerors of India have come in hordes again and again, but they have scarcely touched the soul of the people. The Indian is still, in general, what he always was, in spite of them all; and,

however forcible the new and unprecedented influences now at work upon an instructed minority, one can with difficulty imagine any serious change in the rooted character and time-honoured instincts of the vast mass of the people; nor is it at all certain that such change would be for the better.

The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

The conclusion here seems to be that India is exceptional in human history, does not need to advance, and is incapable of further development.

But, while declining to assume the rôle of a prophet, one may point out certain historical and psychological facts which seem to indicate a different, perhaps a brighter and more hopeful outlook.

1. The first of these facts is that the nations of Northern Europe were overrun for centuries by foreign legions; and that the Roman military superiority left hardly a trace. But the ideas of the ancient culture of Greece, Rome, and Palestine, mediated by teachers, remained deep in the soil of the popular soul, long after the Roman legions had fled before the vigorous races armed to conquer their conquerors. The lesson is that ideas are the permanent masters of a race; that all external force is evanescent, however important its service in opening a road for ideas.

2. The second fact to be mentioned is that modern Europe grew out of mediæval Europe when the methods of modern science replaced a barren metaphysical and unscientific method. The Renaissance gave the impulse; the chemists, physicists, and physiologists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries carried the movement onward. The cities of Europe suffered for over a thousand years, helpless and hopeless, from the famines, plagues, and pests which spread woe and death over the continent; they had men who "plunged in thought"; the monasteries were full of

meditative men; prayers and ritual were not wanting and they were passionately sincere. It was the method of science which gave to all the idealism of Europe an instrument of power to realize itself, to awaken from its horrid dream and assert its spiritual liberty, its right to dominate nature, its duty to develop from within. A petty race may be annihilated by force. A great race cannot be annihilated, and a military conquest is wholly external to the people. It is what the soul of the people produces which is significant.

3. The third fact is that the Indian people are even now, and on a gigantic scale, passing through a revolution which never came to it before. It is not a foreign conquest, it is not a superficial political change; it is an intellectual movement within, answering with intelligent action to material requirements; and it is full of power and hope. All the European nations, after ages of slumber, have passed through this revolution and come forth at a higher level. India has begun to climb.

Japan, — after waiting for the magic touch of science — has advanced far on the way of its transformation. China has shown capacity for the same career. Who shall venture to say that the Indian people alone are to be left isolated, unmoved, stagnant, while all the rest of the Orient is in commotion and ferment?

4. The fourth consideration is that science, which is the new beginning of all national progress, is not patented, cannot be monopolized, and can be accepted without humiliation. It is world property. Every human being has a right to it. It has no boundaries. Science has on it no national mark. As Mrs. Browning said: "For the truth itself, that is neither man's nor woman's, but just God's." Therefore, it belongs to all His children. This is only the religious form of expressing the idea that truth is universal. We may, then, reasonably and safely argue from the solid

basis of historical facts that India is, in all probability, at the bright dawn of a new era.

Upon the one vital point, fundamental to all else, I cite an excellent authority: "Some agricultural experts despair of the improvement of agriculture, because they have taken the Indian peasant to be a living emblem of inertia. But, in reality, the peasant is not so conservative as he is often thought to be. He is not quite unwilling to adopt improved methods, but these must be shown to be capable of giving better results. In order to induce the peasant to adopt improved methods, the experts must prove, not on paper, but by actual farming, that these are paying and are suitable to the conditions under which the cultivator lives." (P. Banerjea, *Indian Economics*, p.72, and he refers to Dr. Völcker, *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, and D. L. Roy, *Crops of Bengal*.) The demonstration work of the United States Department of Agriculture rests on this principle. The peasant reasons that he can at least exist by following traditional methods; and he cannot afford to risk his all on a "theory". He is right and rational. Let governments and rich capitalists, with a surplus and margin, erect "experimental stations"; they should do so; but what an actual farmer needs and wants is a "demonstration". It is so in religion and other matters. Men want not an experiment, but an experience, not a theory, or doctrine, or history of far away events, but a "demonstration" in life and action and service.

I also bring to your consideration the sublime vista opened to our spirits by my learned colleague, distinguished as a geologist, with the vision of a seer. Indian history is part of a drama whose theatre is the universe in which we all dwell.

..... "While, therefore, there is to be, with little doubt, an end to the earth as a planet, and while perhaps previous to that end conditions inhospitable to life may

be reached, the forecast of these contingencies places the event in the indeterminate future. The geologic analogies give fair ground for anticipating conditions congenial to life for millions or tens of millions of years to come, not to urge the even larger possibilities.

But congeniality of conditions does not ensure actual realization. There arise at once questions of biological adaptation, of vital tenacity and of purposeful action. Appeal to the record of the animal races reveals in some cases a marvellous endurance, in others the briefest of records, while the majority fall between the extremes. Many families persisted for millions of years. A long career for man may not, therefore, be denied on historical grounds, neither can it be assured; it is an individual race problem; it is a special case of the problem of the races in the largest sense of the phrase.

But into the problem of human endurance two new factors have entered, the power of definite moral purpose and the resources of research. No previous race has shown clear evidence that it was guided by moral purpose in seeking distant ends. In man such moral purpose has risen to distinctness. As it grows, beyond question, it will count in the perpetuity of the race It will become more critical as the growing multiplicity of the race brings upon it, in increasing stress, the distinctive humanistic phases of the struggle for existence now dimly foreshadowed. It will, beyond question, be more fully realized, as the survival of the fittest shall render its verdict on what is good and what is evil in this realm of the moral world.

But to be most efficient, moral purpose needs to be conjoined with the highest intelligence, and herein lies the function of research. None of the earlier races made systematic inquiry into the conditions of life and sought thereby to extend their careers. What can research do

for the extension of the career of man? We are witnesses of what it is beginning to do in rendering the forces of nature subservient to man's control and in giving him command over the maladies of which he has long been the victim. Can it master the secrets of vital endurance, the mysteries of heredity, and all the fundamental physiological processes that condition the longevity of the race? The answer must be left to the future, but I take no risk in affirming that, when ethics and research join hands in a broad and earnest endeavour to compass the highest development and the greatest longevity of the race, the era of humanity will really have begun."¹

The burden of tradition and custom of the dead past is finely characterized in Sidney Lanier's *Barnacles*, and there also is the forward look of the illumined and awakened spirit:

My soul is sailing through the sea;
 But the Past is heavy and hindereth me.
 The Past hath crusted cumbrous shells
 That hold the flesh of cold sea-mells
 About my soul
 The huge waves wash, the high waves roll,
 Each barnacle clingeth and worketh dole
 And hindereth me from sailing.

Old Past let go, and drop i' the sea
 Till fathomless waters cover thee!
 For I am living but thou art dead;
 Thou drawest back, I strive ahead
 The Day to find.
 Thy shells unbind! Night comes behind,
 I needs must hurry with the wind
 And trim me best for sailing.

¹ Professor T. C. CHAMBERLIN *Opportunities of our Race*, pp. 12-13,
 in *A Geologic Forecast of the future* Science Dec. 31, 1909.

SOCIAL FAITH IN THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE OCCIDENT

The religious creed which inspires this policy is based on a conviction that this universe in which we live, the world known to us, is at its core full of meaning, and the meaning good. It is expressed by Browning in many ways, as in these words:

'Tis better being good than bad;
'Tis better being mild than fierce;
'Tis better being sane than mad;
My own hope is a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;
That after last returns the first,
Though a wide compass round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once prove accursed.

My honoured friend Mr. C.S. Loch, of London, recognized leader and representative of international philanthropic movements, has expressed this faith for all philanthropists in our age: "Charity is the very life of religion, above all of Christianity Is it not possible, then, for those who, by their religious faith are believers in charity, to unite, as they have never yet done, for the true and honourable fulfilment of the task which their faith impresses on them — Levite, priest, and Samaritan — conforming, non-conforming, cleric and lay, men and women? Cannot all, putting aside lesser matters of difference, try to find an orthodoxy in charity and charitable method? In the hope that now or some day this may be possible, and that there may be a new unity in this vital social faith, this book has been written."¹

A "social policy" is the form taken by the social faith in response to the particular needs of the age, the land,

¹ *Charity and Social Life*, pp. 477-8.

the group under consideration. The phases of that policy can be made clear only by taking concrete problems and measures for discussion.

A "social policy" implies and assumes a certain philosophy of life and, with me at least, a certain religious faith. This faith proves its worth and reasonableness by its works. It is living and it is prophetic and creative. To us who believe in a progressive social policy, the world is not merely pushed forward by blind physical forces; it moves onward toward aims clearly set before the human will and realized gradually by concerted labours directed by science. This policy is, root and branch, ethical; it is morality organized, vivified, guided by growing knowledge, and inspired by faith.

1. Morality includes the disposition, the will. Out of the heart are the issues of life. Good fruit grows only on good trees. We cannot insist too strongly on inner character, on uprightness of motive, on loving kindness. Even when we are too weak or ignorant to achieve results, it is something to will the good, to aim at the best we know, even if our hands are feeble and external circumstances defeat our ambitions.

2. But morality is also action,¹ and that action which is helpful, useful to humanity, to all mankind. The social welfare test must be applied to all conduct; the deed is the revelation of the inward purpose and intelligence. Our Master of Christendom did, indeed, dwell on the necessity of spiritual vision, of holy desires, of just and loving intentions, down in the very springs of all activity, in the heart and will. But in the sublime vision of the Eternal Judgment He also insists, as the test of true discipleship, that all who are truly on His side, have

¹ J. MAKAREWITZ, "Tugend ist diejenige Richtung des Willens, diese psychische Kraft, welche sich in gesellschaftlich nützlichen Handlungen äussert."

acted in accordance with their professions: they have fed the hungry, clothed the naked, been hospitable to the stranger, pitiful to the prisoner chained to floors of dark dungeons. These are all outward, visible, tangible, verifiable deeds, and not merely emotions, sentiments, and professions.

3. Modern morality, in conduct and programmes, must live up to the best light. It is inexcusable in us to tolerate conditions which our ancestors did not know were wrong and evil. We must not only intend to bring forth good fruits, but we must also actually produce them.

Before science came, men were not to blame for ways of conduct which now are detestable. It is our duty to follow the brightest light God gives us. Wherever there is a consensus of experts, there is a plain moral obligation to follow with concerted action. Some of the most important legislation of recent years rests on this moral principle; and, in spite of the written constitutions of the United States prepared in the eighteenth century, our Supreme Court has reversed time-honoured laws, because they no longer spoke the voice of science and enlightened public opinion. They have read into the ancient law a broader, richer, nobler meaning than that our forefathers conceived.

One essential characteristic of these social programmes which distinguishes the modern from the mediæval policies, is the control of scientific method. In this connection it is worth while to quote Dr. Ira Remsen, president of Johns Hopkins University. At a conference of city officials and others in Baltimore, shortly after the establishment of the department of legislative reference in that city, he said:

It may fairly be said that that nation which makes most use of the scientific method is the most advanced nation, taking everything into consideration, and in the long run that nation will outstrip the others. That the industries are dependent upon the cultivation of the sciences is well known. Innumerable striking examples of this could be given. It has also been shown that in the study of the

problems of government, whether these problems be those of a municipality, of a state, or of a nation, the scientific method is of vital importance. What this method is, may be summed up in a very few words. It is that method that proceeds in the most sensible way to solve problems. Whenever a wise man has a problem to deal with, he first endeavours to find out what the facts are, and after he has learned the facts, he proceeds to action; his conclusions are drawn from the knowledge of the facts.

III

PURPOSES AND SCOPE OF THESE LECTURES

1. As already hinted, I have not in mind specific proposals for direction of the Orient; the policy of a people must be worked out by itself, with all the help it can command from modern science. This is a slow and tedious process; but for this travail there is no substitute. What is done, or apparently done, for a people, in spite of their desires or without their intelligent and willing co-operation, is not valuable nor permanent, because it remains a thing external to their minds, their wishes, their habits. Only that which expresses the character of a community will endure; all that is imposed from without falls into ruin and decay.

2. But I do have the ambition to describe, illustrate, and explain some of the essential aims, tendencies, and reasons of the social policy of the Western World, especially of that country with which I am most familiar, the United States. If from this sketch and the facts brought forward the people of the East and their leaders find any building materials for their own social creations, they are welcome to tear down what is here presented and use any pieces of stone, steel, glass, or terra-cotta which may be convenient for their own plans.

3. Principles of organization and conduct may be disclosed which are based on general, perhaps universal, factors of human nature and needs. Such regulative principles are discovered by a careful and intensive study of particular facts and local strivings.

It is true that, before such principles can be applied by a community to which they are presented, they must first be taken up, considered, sifted, and tested by the best thought of that community itself.

4. I wish to enjoy fellowship with my honoured hosts, my oriental colleagues in the sacred studies of science and in the education of aspiring youth. Sincerely do I value this opportunity to learn from the Orient, to discover by comparison and discussion what is merely local and accidental in my generalizations, and so to rise to a broader and nobler view of what is genuinely human, universal.

The Barrows lecturer is not merely commissioned to give lectures in the East; he is expected to return to America and there tell at least some of the things he has learned. Mrs. Haskell expressly said: "If the committee shall decide to utilize this lectureship still further in calling forth the views of scholarly representatives of non-Christian faiths, I authorize and shall approve such a decision. Only good will grow out of such a comparison of views." Therefore, it will be a distinct favour to the lecturer to have his attention called, by conversation, letter or reference to books and documents, to any matters relating to his subject, and which justice and truth require should be published in the West.

5. It is necessary, especially in view of the limits of time for these conferences, to rigidly confine my discussion to certain limited fields of thought and action, and even here to select carefully what seems most significant and vital for our purpose. Therefore, we shall consider chiefly those movements and measures of the Western

World which relate to community action, on a large scale, for those groups of citizens whose well-being depends on the co-operation and help of the entire people. And, more explicitly: the social policy which aims to deal rationally and kindly with

a) Those who are economically dependent on society for their very existence. These include the indigent, as: orphans or abandoned children, widows without resources, families in distress, the aged men and women who are without property or relatives able to support them, and the insane and feeble-minded whose physical condition makes assistance imperative.

b) This social policy also relates to common action in relation to the anti-social groups, and to laws, institutions and agencies for repression, defence, correction, and prevention of crime.

c) The wage-earners, especially the unskilled and least efficient, though not these exclusively.

d) In all this we must keep in mind the social function of exceptional men and groups, the most vigorous, progressive, advanced, people of talent and genius whose function and duty it is to lead the nation to higher levels. For what the discoverer and inventor possess alone to-day will sometime in the future belong to all, will bless and enrich all. Therefore, our social policy must include provisions for discovering, stimulating, encouraging, and utilizing to the utmost the rare and gifted personalities whose birth is often among the humble, whose early efforts are often hampered by poverty, and whose obscurity of origin may so conceal them from timely recognition that the world may lose their extraordinary service and all be poorer for the oversight.

6. The elements of a social policy are determined by the universal needs of humanity. These may be briefly indicated under these heads:

a) An adequate social policy for any people must lay a deep foundation in national health. A physically feeble people cannot accomplish as much as a powerful and vigorous race. The promotion of health is a common interest and a common duty. This policy must include not merely the care of the present generation, but must also look to racial improvement by measures of protection, nurture, and selection.

b) The industrial efficiency, the largest production and the most equitable distribution of material means of existence and well-being must be a part of the policy of a great nation. The poverty of the poorest is the loss of all; the welfare of the weakest is the concern especially of the most gifted and successful.

c) The spiritual progress of men must be included in a worthy and comprehensive policy. Science, art, morality, genial fellowship, and religion are essential factors in a noble and truly human existence.

There are writers who seem to think and who seek to give the impression that "social welfare" means increase of material possessions and better distribution of income. It does include that. But, the world over, the noblest representatives of every great race and nation will repudiate the narrow and unworthy conception that material good is the ultimate end of life. Whatever is true, beautiful, and good is included in the ends for which we strive, as individuals and as co-operating associations of men.

The view of Professor S. N. Patten is here presented, because it emphasizes the difference between mere political forms and parties and the more profound interests of humanity which may be fostered under various governmental forms:

A social programme must meet five tests: Does it make for peace; does it increase prosperity; does it make men tolerant; does it

increase co-operation; does it lead to an evolution? On the other hand, it must avoid five evils: war, distress, dogmatism, struggle, and revolution. The old political philosophy has never avoided these evils. Distress, dogmatism, and revolution have ever followed its dominance. And the reason is plain. It emphasizes rights and ignores consequences. Its decisions are based on present feelings and not on future results. Every alteration in dominant *passions* leads straight to political revolution. New policies do not embody nor grow out of the results of preceding epochs, but are the expression of some untried political dogma. Men wipe out the past instead of profiting by its lessons.

The doctrine of the recall is the final form of this old philosophy, because it emphasizes the irresponsibility for results that characterizes revolution. Were it merely the basis of a political philosophy, we might ignore it as a passing whim. Under other names, the same thought is undermining the stability of moral, social, and industrial life. Ellen Key is advocating marriage recall to free people from their family pledges, while Bernard Shaw is desirous of employing a moral recall to get rid of the rigidity of the decalogue. Some people are also upholding a word-of-honour recall to get rid of the political promises their leader has made. A recall of contracts would be in line with these precedents. If freedom is a human right, why bother about the consequences of yesterday's acts? Be free, be independent, strike down social responsibility, and the superman will rise to redeem the world.

I put these contrasts strongly, not to settle the merits of the political recall, but to make clear the difference between political and social philosophy. The social man must not merely say, "I am right", but must realize that each decision brings with it a series of consequences from which there is no recall and for which he is responsible. He must seek to see the end from the beginning and think in terms, not of antecedents, but of consequences. When political programmes get into this form, campaign orators will have something of interest for social workers, but, until then, let them stick to their own tasks. We should make people more conscious of their responsibilities, not teach them to "recall" those they now admit.¹

Nothing is more common than the false notion that changes of rulers and parties can radically improve the life of a people. These changes have their importance;

¹ *In the Survey*, April 27, 1912, p. 174.

but the best things of existence are not so cheaply purchased as by making paper constitutions, delivering orations, removing kings or electing presidents.

7. Reasons for constructing and maintaining a social policy such as has been outlined.

The ground is universal interest. It is easy to show the organic relations of men of all classes in the matter of diseases, especially contagious diseases. The most refined, cultivated and wealthy must breathe the common air. Their food must be touched by unclean hands. The modern microscope has revealed the world of the "infinitely little" and compelled us to understand that men and animals may communicate to each other dreadful and dangerous maladies. Every neglected hovel or dark and damp sleeping room may become the centre of a plague whose foul breath taints the atmosphere and may invade the royal palace or the private office of the millionaire. Diphtheria, cholera, scarlet fever, and typhus are democratic; they care nothing for our conventional marks of rank. Sickness, even when not contagious, diminishes national wealth, reduces the product of combined labour and capital, affects the revenues of municipalities, princes, and empires. Vice, crime, pauperism are inevitably burdens to all members of a community. Ignorance, want of skill, vulgar taste, superstition are bad neighbours. Modern science, both physical and social, has made this organic relation of man to man so clear that it cannot be doubted by any one who is acquainted with the evidence. Therefore, morality and religion in the Western World enforce the obligation to promote a true social policy which includes in its benevolent designs all classes of men and every variety of physical and spiritual satisfaction for all.

There is hope for men of all races. It has been my pleasure to sit at the hospitable table of Dr. Booker T. Washington, principal and founder of the great educational

institution for negroes at Tuskegee, Alabama. In his autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, this great man has told us how a poor boy of a depressed race, helped by friendly white men, rose from the gutter to a secure position of usefulness and honour; how he won the confidence of men of highest ability in the financial world and was enabled to help his people to make the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln a reality. What one negro has done points the way for all others. To set a caldron of water to boiling we must kindle the flame and feed the fuel beneath, not on top of the vessel; and to redeem a continent the lowest class must be helped to live a human life. As Joseph Mazzini, modern prophet of democracy, has declared, a people cannot succeed so long as "the idea of a caste has been substituted for the popular idea of the emancipation of all by all." Booker T. Washington has seized this idea and begun at the foundation, the conquest of economic independence by knowledge of nature, and by improved methods and skill in agriculture and the industrial arts. In this enriched soil he plants the seeds of idealism, of ambition, art, hope, aspiration. In this is no scorn, hatred, or revenge for past wrongs, for "two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil", but an indomitable resolve to deserve the respect of mankind, believing that justice will be done at last. It is an achievement and a life morally sublime. "And to love best still is to reign unsurpassed." Jesus taught this in His profound words: "He that is greatest among you shall be servant of all". The proud world thinks of the man who owns slaves or drives serfs or controls wage-earners as greatest; but not so the Christ, Lord of all, who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister". He only is Christ-like who aids humanity to move onward and upward.

It is true that each of us alone is feeble, poor, and powerless to achieve. But then we have no right to live

and work alone. We multiply our energies by combination, by institutions to which multitudes contribute. Selfishness is not only wicked, but weak and foolish. The egotist who thinks to do all the great deeds alone and win all the fame of it by his own right hand, is soon deserted and dies of thirst in the lonely desert which he has made empty about him. The really great men, like Gladstone, Wilberforce, Lincoln, made common cause with the slave, the workman, the struggling nation.

With deed, and word, and pen
Thou hast served thy fellow men;
Therefore art thou exalted.

An English writer of world-wide fame has given expression to the spirit and aim of all recent social legislation:

Man's Unhappiness, as I construe it, comes of his Greatness; it is because there is an Infinite in him, which with all his cunning he cannot quite bury under the Finite. Will the whole Finance Ministers and Upholsterers and Confectioners of modern Europe undertake, in joint-stock company, to make one shoeblick *happy*? They cannot accomplish it, above an hour or two; for the shoeblick also has a Soul quite other than his stomach. . . . The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but godlike, and my Father's. (THOMAS CARLYLE, *Sartor Resartus*.)

Religion cannot be divorced from morality, except in the abnormal mind of the hypocrite or the criminal.

A shrewd physician writes:

I remember one old woman who had grown gray and almost blind after a long course of vicious and criminal conduct. She was eloquent regarding a person whom she described as being "nae better than an infidel". I replied that at least he had kept out of prison, and she replied, "Aye; but though I have been a drunkard, a blackguard, and a thief, thank God I never neglected my religion."¹

The story illustrates the working of a mind which has lost its equilibrium and which has failed through vicious

¹ DR. JAMES DEVON, *The Criminal and the Community*, p. 258.

bias to seize the deep and true relations of the soul to the universe.

Morality itself is the conduct which, on the whole, actually tends to increase the well-being of all. "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Religion is just this same principle and motive of life raised to the highest degree, made universal beyond the bounds of sense, and earth, and time, and mortality.

Brotherhood and service of man is the basis of modern public morality.

Long as thine Art shall love true love,
 Long as thy Science truth shall know,
 Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,
 Long as thy Law by law shall grow,
 Long as thy God is God above,
 Thy brother every man below,
 So long, dear Land of all my love,
 Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow !¹

There can be no unity, harmony, and rationality of life unless this view point is accepted and made dominant in individual and national conduct.

We may, therefore, present this "Weltanschauung", this view of nature and man, in several aspects, in order to understand better what it implies. Our world-view rests on a conviction that life is worth while, is good, is reasonable. We cannot be ascetic, nor nihilistic, with this central belief. Life of body, of soul, in time and eternity,—life has worth.

'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
 More life, and fuller, that we want.

It seems to have been the view of the ancient Hebrew society where herds, jewels, harvests, children, and long life were regarded as blessings. In the teaching of Jesus

¹ SIDNEY LANIER, *The Centennial Meditation of Columbia*, 1776-1876.

this view is spiritualized, made eternal. "In me ye have eternal life I came that ye might have abundant life."

The personality of a human being for the Western World is the commanding interest. Perhaps the mediæval notion of "salvation of the soul" was too individualistic, too other-worldly, too alien to present duties and joys, too pitiless toward dissent; but, at least, it was profoundly right and immensely useful in emphasizing the worth of the inmost and downmost man, apart from external trappings of wealth and rank.

Again, this ethico-spiritual, socialized notion of community obligation is in its essence vital, germinal, active, creative. Here is a creed which drives a whole people to energetic and co-operative labour for common ends. A nation of hypocrites is already paralyzed. A common life must realize its religion or confess itself a sham.

In view of a supreme hour of crisis in our American history, one of our most capable poets and interpreters told us what was the meaning of the Civil War, in which our great President Abraham Lincoln led us forward, and what is the true glory of our nation:

She that lifts up the manhood of the poor,
She of the open soul and open door,
With room about her hearth for all mankind,
She calls her children back, and waits the morn
Of nobler day, enthroned between her subject seas.

Thus far we have spoken in very general terms of our Western motives, principles, and social movements. Henceforth we must come closer to the concrete practice in which these principles are found embodied and expressed.

But before we go further, honesty compels me to make for myself and my country, and for all the Western World, a frank confession, so far as one has a right to confess the fault and sin of others with his own. I have spoken of our ideals; I do not mean to claim that these ideals

have as yet come into full control of all our citizenship and all our public institutions and conduct. Alas! far from it. The presentation which I shall make, taken together with those to which in bibliography I shall refer for further studies, will make it clear that we have yet a long and difficult journey to travel before we attain our goal. One can see a great mountain many days before he can reach its base on the plain and climb to its summits. Those of us who are most directly and constantly active in making these social policies effective, are precisely those who know best what indifference, ignorance, apathy, and even organized hostility we have to meet and overcome. Selfishness is a dreadful power and by no means inert. Private interests frequently blind the eyes, even of intelligent and upright men, to the sufferings and needs and rights of the poor. I have not come across the ocean to represent my beloved nation as in all respects a model; that my countrymen do not expect of me, and you know too much of us to make deception possible,—even if deception were in my purpose.

But our ideals are not mere dreams, theories, pretension, and unrealized aims: they are already powerful forces, actually at work, and have to show for themselves mighty achievements which fill our souls with hope for our own brighter future and open up vistas for all mankind for our brothers and sisters of other continents. Things once deemed impossible, have, by science and concerted will, been accomplished. The tables of statistics show tendencies, not laws of fate. Present conditions may be the inheritance of ten thousand years of ignorance and neglect; but in one generation the spell of traditional fear is broken and we read of past misery as only a bad dream of our ancestors.

Let us then select facts which illustrate certain tendencies of thought and action in the Western World and

permit these realities to speak for themselves; speak in self-rebuke where we have failed, speak for our aspiration, our striving, our self-devotion, so far as this is their true meaning.

The Kingdom of God is in Humanity. Mrs. E. B. Browning, in *Italy and the World*, sings of the universal fatherland of the human race:

No more Jew or Greek then—taunting
Nor taunted; no more England or France;
But one confederate brotherhood, planting
One Flag only, to mark the advance,
Onward and upward, of all humanity.

For fully developed Christianity
Is civilization perfected.
And to love best shall still be to reign unsurpassed.

Friendship is started in the nursery of particular small groups, as the family and the neighbourhood. There the roots develop power of assimilation, before the tender shoot can bear transplanting into a larger space and grow alone. Some vegetables require a hot-house for their first attempts at living, before the frost is out of air and soil. That form of friendship we call patriotism is connected with a restricted region and its natural features. The Scotchman loves the purple heather of his rugged and craggy mountains. The Hollanders dream of slow moving canals, and wind-mills. The Swiss carry afar pictures of lofty Mont Blanc and the eternal snows of the Jungfrau. And we Americans sing:

I love her rocks and rills,
Her woods and templed hills.

Nor should we ever forget these little groups and these special regions. He who does not love and revere his own parents is a poor citizen; and the renegade or traitor to his own country is not an honourable cosmopolite. But

there is growing up a larger sentiment of humanity which refuses to find in the stranger a natural enemy, and to regard competition and suspicion between nations as anything more than a proof of narrowness to be outgrown as rapidly as possible.

This is Christianity,—universal friendship, the genuine belief that all spirits have their heredity from the Supreme Father of all, Lord of life, Ruler of sky, plain, and the vast unseen beyond our horizon. Up to this time political consolidation of peoples has come by wars of conquest; nations have been welded together by force and arms. And even this form of federation has been useful, helpful to progress. Rome conquered a world and established order and peace. But it is high time we should consciously organize a spiritual policy for all the peoples, a policy in which love shall be the master force.

LECTURE TWO

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELIEF OF DEPENDENTS AND ABNORMALS

It was in charitable relief that social policies first struck root. So we begin with charity to the feeble. The incompetent and the useless are the severest test of our belief in the value of personality; they are the most striking proof of the weakness of an economic system and of laws and customs. The criminal is stronger, more positive than the pauper and weakling; and dangerous as he is, he may be trained to be useful, even if under compulsion. But the insane, the cripple, the deformed, the imbecile, the low grade idiot, the demented, — would it not be better to let these perish? Would they not suffer less? Would the world not be better without them?

In spite of such questionings, with one consent, all the nations of the West are rapidly investing millions of money in costly institutions for the relief of members of these classes. In many of the states of the American Union the principal item in the budget and the chief business of administration are determined by the needs of the dependent wards of the commonwealth in hospitals, refuges, schools, prisons. A multitude of capable and high-minded men and women are devoting their lives to companionship with those who are wretched and even dangerous company. Why?

Our answer is: life is precious; personality is sacred; in the most despicable and incapable soul, imprisoned in the most ruinous body, is a spirit akin to God's; and we cannot neglect these souls without self-degradation, remorse, shame; without losing something of the finest fruits of age-long culture.

We have been advised to chloroform these poor fellow human beings. We know how it could be done. Science would make it painless. It would save so much money for schools, art, science, comfort, elegance, luxury! Why not? We do not. We cannot. The "moral imperative" restrains us; our "benevolent despot," which we call conscience, forbids; — that is all; but it is enough to stay the hand of death.

Our ancestors, just emerging from barbarism, had no such scruples. Ancient and pre-Christian Greece, Rome, and Germany exposed the feeble and deformed infants and toothless old people to death with scarcely a pang of pity or remorse. Not that they were totally devoid of sympathy and affection; but the fierce struggle for existence, constant warfare, and the necessity of hoarding all the resources of the group had fixed in instinct and tradition the demand to be rid of burdens and parasites. There was no surplus for non-producers; everything was needed for the sound and capable.

We also have in all countries of the West societies for the protection of dumb animals and for the cultivation of human sentiments of mercy for our humbler fellow-creatures,—dogs, cats, birds, horses. In the streets may be seen drinking fountains for animals. In city-parks pretty tame squirrels run unafraid and unharmed, feeding out of the hands of those who rest on the benches; and boxes are placed in trees for nesting places of birds. The decalogue of the Jews, inherited by Christians as part of their moral law, commands that domestic animals share with men the privileges of the holy day of rest. Our laws protect not only the workman in mine and mill, but also the beast of burden from needless pain. Our children in family, school, and church are taught gentleness and kindness. We have colleges of veterinary medicine where men are trained and taught to apply the wisdom of the

healing art to cure the diseases and mitigate sufferings of the lower creatures. St. Francis, founder of a great benevolent order, called himself brother of birds and seemed to understand their songs; and his biography and writings are the inspiration of multitudes of kindly souls.

Since suppression of humane impulses is impossible, nothing remains for us but to seek a scientific method, based on experience.

“What we now see to be required is not the repression of the instincts of benevolence, but their organization. To make benevolence scientific is the great problem of the present age. Men formerly thought that the simple direct action of the benevolent instincts by means of self-denying gifts was enough to remedy the misery they deplored; now we see that not only thought, but historical study is also necessary.”¹

I. *Subnormal and dependent members of society have always existed.* I do not speak here specially of infants and the aged. Infancy is normally dependent. The aged are helpless, because strength has diminished below the measure necessary to self-support, and they have earned their leisure, quiet, and comfort in old age, and should not be obliged to beg. In addition to these are the numerous cases of the feeble-minded, the insane, the sick, the crippled who are physically and mentally unable to support themselves. Weakness is inherited or induced by hunger, misery, disease, accident, catastrophe, neglect, ignorance, and other causes.

In some ages and countries mendicancy assumes the garb and claim of religion and is regarded as specially holy, as in the case of the mediæval begging friars of Europe.

¹ ARNOLD TOYNBEE, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 94.

II. *Sympathy and pity are very ancient and general feelings.* They are found even among the higher animals. The evolutionists have taught us the explanation. Care for the weak, especially for infants, being necessary for survival of the race or tribe, this instinct has been produced, and those who did not develop group-sympathy tended to disappear. Among most peoples some manifestations of compassion have been revealed and honoured. Regarded as virtue, this human pity has received also the sanction of religion.

Christianity enlarged the scope of human sympathy, made it spiritual, broke down barriers of race and class, and announced with the conviction of faith and the authority of the divine word, that all men are brothers and have claims to love and care in times of need.

The methods of charity in Christendom have passed through three great stages of evolution:

1. Up to the reign of Constantine, during the times of persecution by the Roman Emperors, the charity of the Church was congregational and was administered by the officers of each local Church, the bishops and deacons. The funds were collected at the services of worship and sacraments, or from regular dues paid in for the common benefit, or from extraordinary gifts of the prosperous.

2. The second period extends from 312 A.D. to the Reformation (1517). During the mediæval times the Church was supported by the political rulers, was enriched by its own votaries, organized monastic orders, endowed hospitals for strangers, wanderers, and sick folk, and transformed the barbarians of the North into modern civilized nations, giving them language, freedom, laws. Property devoted to endowments for relief of the poor in those ages still yields revenue for the solace of misery in our times.

Longfellow's picture of the almoner of the convent, in the Middle Ages, is typical; for crowds of beggars haunted monastic gates all over Europe:

At the gate the poor were waiting
Looking through the iron grating,
With that terror in the eye
Which is only seen in those
Who amid their wants and woes
Hear the sound of gates that close
And of feet that pass them by;
Grown familiar with disfavour,
Grown familiar with the flavour
Of the bread by which men die.

3. The period since the sixteenth century is characterized by the gradual acceptance by governments of the obligation of relieving extreme distress and guaranteeing at least the necessities of existence to all indigent citizens. That which the Church, by word and deed, had long taught to be a universal duty, the modern states of northern Europe and America have enacted into poor-laws. The chief reasons for this change have been: the necessity of repressing mendicancy, for which task the Church had not the authority or control of force; the conviction that only by a poor-tax, levied by law, could the burden of support be equitably distributed over all who enjoyed a surplus income; and only then could the State assure itself that every citizen had enough to sustain life. In the case of the insane and other abnormals, where restraint of liberty by legal process was necessary, it was obviously impossible to give this power to any private association like the Church.

One fact relating to European history requires to be explained in the Orient. One of the consequences of the industrial revolution already described was the breaking up of servile domestic, neighbourhood, and customary bonds. Where there is great mobility of population, where manu-

factures are carried on for a world market, where the demand for labourers shifts frequently and suddenly from city to city, from nation to nation, a vast multitude of labourers are cut off from their homes, relatives, and neighbours, and are exposed to extreme destitution among strangers. For these reasons we can no longer depend wholly on custom and family for relief, and we must have a system which is at least wide as the nation, must include all citizens, and must even provide by treaties for migrants between continents. This is for every country which has developed the great industry, inevitable, and it must be provided for.

But this development of State relief and control even of private charity has not diminished the fervour and the devotion of private and ecclesiastical philanthropy. Not only have the ancient foundations, in great part, been respected and conserved, but vastly greater monuments of personal beneficence have been built. The sums devoted to the erection of hospitals, asylums, institutions for children and old people by citizens of the West are colossal.

The fundamental principles which regulate relief are the same for private as for public charity; the differences relate chiefly to the method of raising money, of administration, and of particular expenditure.

Why is private charity desirable, when a poor-law is well established and has a full system of institutions?

1. Private charity can help special cases in the most suitable way. Poor-law, like other laws, must be impartial, must work by general rules, must be somewhat military in its procedure and discipline. Private and personal beneficence can furnish luxuries to tempt the appetite of a patient or convalescent, can provide crutches, artificial limbs or eyes, neat dress, and, above all, personal friendship and counsel.

2. Private charity can try experiments to discover better methods and to demonstrate their efficiency by trial

on a small scale, before it would be wise to commit the commonwealth to a novel and untried scheme.

Private charity has, almost always, gone forward in advance of public agencies. Formerly in England and elsewhere the making of paths, roads, and bridges was a pious work; free schools for the poor were long supported by individual gifts; hospitals were endowed by rich men; the insane were cared for by devoted brotherhoods.

3. Even after the State has assumed the burden, private charity is needed to watch the administration and protect against harsh routine, mechanical formality, and gross abuses.

4. Public relief, even in States where no civic honours are lost by receipt of it, necessarily humiliates those who are not yet accustomed to receive it. They are known as "paupers" and refined dependents are compelled to associate in public institutions with other indigent persons who are coarse, besotted, and sometimes vicious and criminal. This is especially deplorable when innocent children are involved. If quiet help can be given, without attracting attention of neighbours and without the disgrace of a public record as pauper, the broken-down and discouraged parent may rally, and the world at large never know how low they had come. Often the money is repaid and treated as a loan.

III. *Relief of needy families in their homes,—public and private.* The primary social group is that of parents and children in the family. The normal and ordinary family finds in the useful industry of its members the means of self-support, and all the property and income are the common possession of the group. The dependent family is exceptional and its situation is irregular and abnormal.

In the moral beliefs, traditions, and laws of the Western countries the members of each family are first of all re-

sponsible for any dependent individual, and somewhat in this order: parents are required to maintain, protect, and educate their own children; grandparents are usually expected to assist dependent grandchildren; children, when they have means, are required to assist their aged parents and even grandparents, before relief is sought from the community. As a general rule, this moral tradition is observed without any legal compulsion; a good man or woman will not ask alms, until their own resources are exhausted, and rich relatives are ashamed to see any of their kin go begging in public; it is regarded as a disgrace.

But in a certain percentage of families in all countries, from many causes, the earning power and income of the members of the domestic group are not sufficient to maintain life; and then either public or private charity must come to help, or there will be extreme suffering and even death from starvation.

The mutual help of the poor among themselves is a great factor in relief. Of the myriads of acts of kindness and humanity among those who are themselves even on the brink of trouble and destitution, there is no public record. Millions of philanthropists live unheralded and rest in nameless graves.

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its fragrance on the desert air;
Full many a gem, of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed depths of ocean bear.

Matthew Arnold (*West London*) shows how the poor help each other, yet never appear on the list of society's "philanthropists". The story pictures a return to the primitive elementary feelings of sympathy, of kinship of minds, or race solidarity out of which all great movements for a noble life spring.

Crouch'd on the pavement, close by Belgrave Square,
A tramp I saw, ill, moody, and tongue-tied.
A babe was in her arms, and at her side
A girl; their clothes were rags, their feet were bare.

Some labouring men, whose work lay somewhere there,
Pass'd opposite; she touch'd her girl, who hied
Across and begg'd and came back satisfied.
The rich she had let pass with frozen stare.
Thought I: "Above her state this spirit towers;
She will not ask of aliens, but of friends,
Of sharers in a common human fate.

She turns from that cold succour which attends
The unknown little from the unknowing great,
And points us to a better time than ours."

In the crowded tenement houses of our huge and congested cities this unfailing fountain of kindness flows for neighbours in distress.

The primary task of modern scientific charity is to maintain the integrity, character, and wholesome energy of the domestic group, so long as possible. We may illustrate the best procedure of both public and private relief by indicating what can be done under the most advanced systems of relief in certain typical situations.

1. The prolonged illness of the breadwinners, — father, or mother, or both. The wage-earner's income and credit are soon exhausted when the breadwinner can no longer present himself in the place of employment. In this case a careful study is made of the home involved in misfortune; the responsible relatives are sought, if any exist; new resources may be discovered in the earning power of older children; and meantime the necessities of existence are supplied, medical skill, medicines, and nurses or hospital care are furnished, the invalid is cheered with hope and friendliness of word and deed, and nothing is neglected which gives promise of restoring the patient to health and work.

2. Unfortunately we encounter only too many cases where the father or the mother bring the home to misery by moral fault or even crime, as drunkenness, cruelty, neglect to provide, desertion, and all these culminating in quarrels, conflicts, and divorce. Here the innocent suffer from the deeds of the guilty, and persuasion often fails to bring the offender back to his duty.

Then the agents of relief must invoke the intervention of the police and the courts to coerce the negligent, while the innocent sufferers are relieved by charity. Even here nothing is left undone which gives hope of restoring the broken and discouraged family to its integrity and happiness; and often the depraved and drunken father is brought to a sense of his duty by firm discipline and personal persuasion.

3. Another type of misfortune is that of the family reduced to destitution by the death of the breadwinner, usually the father. From time immemorial the widow and the fatherless have made their appeal to the pity and helpfulness of the strong and prosperous.

The problem does not change its nature; it is still that of keeping the family intact. The home is the best shelter and nest for the birdlings; the good mother is the best nurse, guide, and counsellor of her young. Under the most advanced and progressive systems the community now refuses to incarcerate the children in institutions; it pays the mother a pension, either out of a charity fund or from a legal source, to remain at home, keep house, watch over the little ones, mend their clothing, and send them in decent, clean garments to school. Poverty and widowhood do not release the mother from the moral obligation and the maternal yearning to keep her offspring near her; and charity comes to her help and makes the performance of her duty possible, and keeps her heart from breaking at enforced separation from her children.

4. Fourth type, where the integrity of the family is threatened by enforced unemployment.

Up to this time, in spite of much study and many experiments, in all industrial countries, at all times, and especially in times of business depression, millions of men willing, strong, and eager to work, are either unemployed for long periods or are chronically under-employed, so that they cannot earn enough to support their families. The causes of this situation are numerous, complicated, and obscure, and all efforts to reduce them have thus far in great measure failed.

Meantime, while men are investigating causes and experimenting with improvements, there is destitution in many humble homes, and that without the industrial fault of the breadwinners. The family income is frequently exhausted, and misery, hunger, cold, sickness, weakness, inability to work are consequences. In these crises of the domestic group, neighbour must help neighbour, and neighbour love is a bank which honours the drafts of poverty and misfortune.

Danger of pauperization. But will not the gift of unearned income pauperize the spirit of the beneficiaries? Will not the father become shiftless? Will not the children grow up with the feeling that they will be supported, whether they work or not? Doubtless there is danger at this point; without question charity has frequently been so administered in the past that it actually increased the number of the miserable and the quantity of suffering.

Warned by these very real dangers modern scientific philanthropy has sought to establish certain standards and principles of relief, the observance of which would reduce these evils to a minimum; which would make it possible to exercise compassion, save life, avert ruin, and yet not encourage people to settle down into a parasitic existence and give up the struggle for self-support. The following

conditions of giving relief are stated by Dr. E. T. Devine (in his *Principles of Relief*):

1. Thorough knowledge of the family and all its surroundings.

2. Co-operation with repressive authorities to place law-breakers under the discipline of the criminal law, as wife-beaters, men who abandon their wives and children or neglect their support, — vagabonds.

3. Adequate and suitable relief to the beneficiaries, until they are capable of self-support or are so maintained that they are not driven to mendicancy.

4. Firm and persistent refusal to give relief to those who might work and continue to beg in spite of warnings.

If these conditions are observed by all who give charity, then material relief can be given without serious damage to the character and prospects of indigent persons.

The need of co-operation of agencies of relief. It has long been evident to the wisest and most enlightened administrators of charity that these principles of relief can be carried out effectively only when all the agencies of relief, public and private, agree upon them and act in concert.

1. There must be co-operation to maintain, at some central point in each city, a complete record of all information about the poor and needy. It is impossible for any one benevolent person or society to know all that is required, all the destitute, and all the available resources for their aid, without establishing and maintaining a central bureau of records accessible to all.

2. There must be a common agreement among the administrators of charity in remanding a law-breaking dependent to the repressive and correctional branch of government; if there is dissension, or if some continue to give relief, the offender fails to receive his needed and wholesome discipline, and the treatment fails.

3. Without co-operation, through a central office, adequate relief cannot be supplied. In all our cities there are various forms of relief for the various kinds of distress,—day nurseries, visiting physicians and nurses, dispensaries, clothing supplies, employment bureaus, coal funds, hospitals, relief for special needs; and no one of these alone can minister to all the forms of distress found in a destitute family. If each society is informed of the nature and extent of the requirements, abundant help may be supplied; otherwise there will be failure and suffering.

4. Without understanding and agreement among all who give relief it is impossible to starve the rebellious into submission. For example, so long as a beggar at a street corner can collect double a labourer's wages by simply holding out his cup for alms, he cannot be persuaded to work at an honest calling which is offered him. Those who dole out relief without knowledge or regard for others, help to train beggars and paupers. The Apostle Paul laid down the rule in the primitive Christian Church, for the guidance of the bishops and deacons: "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat". But if some sentimentalist refuses to accept this maxim and continues individually to give the shirk loaves of bread, the apostle's law will that far be defeated.

The Charity Organization Society movement. This social movement for organizing relief in cities is characteristic of private charity in Great Britain and America. Since about 1870 it has made itself felt in English-speaking lands and has profoundly modified the methods of philanthropy. Its principles have been adopted by certain private societies on the Continent of Europe, as in Paris, Geneva, and elsewhere. The ambition and ideal of the supporters of the "C.O.S." is to establish in every city and between cities a central office for promoting a prompt, sympathetic, adequate, and economical administration of

relief. Nowhere is this ideal realized; everywhere there are groups of persons who have a vision of the purpose and heartily work together to promote it.

In interpreting the policy of the C. O. S. movement, we may glance at the following steps in the procedure:

1. The organization itself. (a) This is a voluntary association of benevolent persons representing all trades, callings, creeds, and races of the community, and therefore combining many forms of natural ability, life experience, bodies of expert knowledge, and acquaintance with local and national conditions. (b) The association elects directors who supervise the administration and give the public assurance that its policy is vigorously and effectively carried out. (c) There are salaried trained professional officers and employes who give their undivided attention to the work in office and field, and who report to the directors. (d) So far as possible voluntary and unsalaried visitors among the poor are invited to aid the trained agents, in order to multiply the number of those who sympathetically and tactfully observe the difficulties and struggles of the poor at first hand, give them assurance of friendship by word and deed, and return to the circles of comfort and luxury with pictures of trouble which quicken the social conscience and compel attention to wrongs, abuses, and sufferings. This activity of the voluntary visitors and unpaid committees is a vital element in the programme.

2. The association, through its paid and unpaid agents, seeks to discover the destitute. No direct census of the indigent in their homes is possible, because not even the government could by house-to-house inquiry find all the names of persons in dire want. By opening local offices in various districts of a great city and thus bringing near to the poor the offer of assistance they are encouraged to make application and unfold their story. Many will come who should not have relief and should be compelled to

work; and these must be detected by agents accustomed to discriminate between the false and the true. Physicians, district nurses, missionaries, pastors, school teachers, school attendance officers, officers of juvenile courts, neighbours come to the offices and reveal the hidden griefs of the "poor who are ashamed", and also warn against the hypocritical and brazen-faced mendicants. It is not long until the society is overwhelmed with applications, although we are never sure that all are made known or that all necessities of decent existence and efficiency are supplied.

3. Prompt relief of urgent distress is a first principle of all modern charity. As a physician, in presence of a fever patient or a wounded man, proceeds at once to devote his skill without asking questions as to guilt or blame or cause, so the Charity Organization Society gives temporary help for obvious distress without too close scrutiny of antecedents and worthiness. When the smarting pain has been alleviated and danger is not imminent, the inquiry may be prosecuted thoroughly and at leisure; and then the relief may be reduced, modified in form, or increased according to the demands of the case.

4. The study of the total situation of each family on the relief-list is essential to permanent help. The society must learn all the sources of income, all the possible resources of relatives and friends, the number of persons dependent, the amount and kind of relief required, and, as rapidly as possible, the conditions which, taken together, caused the fall into the state of dependence.

5. The C.O.S. administrators have gradually worked out a system of records in which all the important facts relating to each family are set down. On the basis of these records statistical studies may be made and general views of causes and tendencies are gradually framed. The records are immediately necessary for the practical purpose of guiding the distribution of relief and informing benevo-

lent persons; they also become valuable foundations for a correct theory of the subject, without which practice is unable to attain sound and wise principles of action.

6. The C. O. S. accumulates and records reliable information about all the funds and agencies of relief and the kinds of distress they are designed to help, — public, private, charitable, repressive, preventive. At a moment's notice this inventory or directory of charity in a city will show a generous person where he can bestow his gifts with the best results. The administrative officers will always be able to secure help from the most appropriate source: medical advice from a dispensary, orthopedic surgery in a children's hospital, asylum for a friendless expectant mother in a maternity, lodgings for a homeless man, temporary relief for a foreigner from the local society of his compatriots, or free transportation home to a lad who has spent his last cent and faces a winter's night in the frosty street.

7. The visitors, officers, and directors gradually acquire a scientific attitude towards the phenomena of misery, and ask questions about causes. Sickness has compelled an indigent family to beg; what caused the sickness? A hard-working mechanic is accidentally injured in the shops by machinery and loses his income; was the machinery properly guarded, and did the factory law require a protective device? The father of numerous children is a victim of tuberculosis or locomotor ataxia; how did he acquire the disease? A working girl is anæmic, feeble; what was there in the conditions of the laundry or shop to depress her vitality? Endless questions thus arise in a scientific age. We are no longer content to say: "It is fate, or providence, or chance." We are determined to discover precisely and exactly just what real thing or force or condition produced this revolting situation, this agony, this despair. Perhaps this new note in charity is the most char-

acteristic feature of modern philanthropy as distinguished from mediæval charity.

8. The C. O. S. people are busy working out a policy of relief and prevention. The scientific process is not complete when the baneful poison is discovered, the deadly germ isolated; it pushes on to find the antidote, the anti-toxin. Having assembled in records hundreds of thousands of individual facts, and discovered tendencies and likenesses, and traced back the tiger of pain to his lair in the jungle of causes, human minds collaborate in framing a working hypothesis of rescue and remedy. This policy is not a simple programme, but tends to become as complex as the social situation which we confront when we undertake to war against misery. In this prolonged combat we need artillery, infantry, cavalry, sappers and miners, electricians, — all horse, foot, and dragoons.

9. Educating, persuading, rallying the public to adopt the policy is an essential task of C. O. S. In the countries of the West public opinion is decisive, and in parliaments and legislatures it finds voice and instrument. In order to secure funds for relief, new laws to prevent disaster, and wiser administration of public offices, constant appeal must be made through newspapers, magazines, and books to the intelligent leaders of the community and to the humblest voters. In this process of educating our masters, the voters, our records are invaluable and constantly grow in usefulness and convincing power.

"The Elberfeld System"; the organization of public relief of needy families in German cities.

The essential features of this system are: 1. Each German city has a city-councillor, a highly educated and trained official, who is set over the entire business of public relief of the destitute. He represents the professional, bureaucratic and thoroughly scientific factor, and he has taken a degree in some University.

2. The city is divided into convenient districts, with a committee of unpaid visitors who constitute a local council of friends of the poor in that part of the city. These visitors hold "honour offices"; they are appointed by the city and are bound to serve, unless they have a reasonable excuse. To each visitor is assigned a few needy families, and it is his duty to visit them in their homes, inquire about their conditions, resources and needs, and report to the council once in a fortnight. He is expected to be humane and considerate, but at the same time to guard the public funds from abuse and imposture. After hearing the report of the visitor the entire council votes on the action which is to be taken in each case. The amount of relief is paid upon requisition to the applicant for aid.

3. The records (*Akten*) of each assisted family are written and preserved in the city relief office, and are then available for future study.

4. While the district councils vote on each case according to their best judgment, they must keep within the standard of law and of the city ordinances.

This system has awakened the admiration of students and travellers in all the West. It combines public authority, adequate funds, personal attention, neighbourly kindness, wide extension of knowledge of conditions of life, with a careful examination and sifting of all claims to relief at public expense. There can be little doubt that the vast army of visitors from the comfortable citizens moving about among the miserable and suffering has kept alive the attention of the nation to the cruelties, mistakes, and hardships of our industrial and political system, and educated the conscience of men in respect to social legislation to correct wrongs and prevent injuries.

The advantage of the German system over that of America lies in this fact: it combines the unlimited resources of the public treasury with the personal interest

of the visitor. In America public relief can be made adequate and private relief tender and human; while in Germany the fund is abundant and the visitors can do what the misery requires. In no American city can private societies adequately relieve all cases of distress, because they cannot collect money enough from their limited constituency. Voluntarily charity is necessarily too fluctuating, fickle, and spasmodic to rely upon, and adequate relief must rest finally upon the broader basis of universal law.

IV. *Institutional Relief.* After the community has done all that lies in its power to keep the family intact, there are always individual indigent persons who must be placed in institutions.

During the Middle Ages the "hospital" had a general character. It not only received the sick, but also travellers, abandoned children, aged persons, the blind, the insane, the imbecile. Gradually, by steps we cannot now follow, separate and special institutions were erected, each being adapted particularly, in structure and administration, to some special group of the poor, as leproseries, asylums for old people, foundlings' homes, surgical and medical hospitals, lodgings for the wanderer, and many others. Now each State has a complicated system of specialized institutions, public and private, for every known class of dependents, where each can have the particular kind of accommodations and treatment which he requires.

We are not called on to study the technical problems of administration of these institutions; indeed, that would be impossible for any one person, because there is a body of knowledge and a corps of specialists for each group of defective and abnormal persons.

We may, however, go far enough into this subject to indicate the direction of specialization and its principle of division of social labour.

1. It was long since discovered that innocent and homeless children should not be kept in close contact with adult paupers, with the insane, with epileptics, with people ruined by drugs and drink. Gradually such dependent children were placed in their own institutions.

Of recent years we have discovered and agreed that, as soon as possible, children who have no natural home should be placed, either as boarders or as adopted, in good family homes. But the specialized orphanage was a good step in the right direction of removing dependent and neglected children from dangerous or unwholesome surroundings in contact with demented or depraved adults.

2. For other reasons special homes for old people have been established; and these have been so separated and differentiated as to bring together those who are congenial, and remove those whose feelings and habits of life would produce discomfort and disorder.

3. Medical charity has developed many forms with the progress of science and art, with wealth and resources, with state and municipal intervention, and with the evolution of social classes and groups. Thus we have dispensaries for medical relief of poor people who can walk to the hospital or clinic,—“out-cases” or ambulatory cases. We have general hospitals with departments for surgery and medicine; maternity hospitals; hospitals for contagious diseases; children’s hospitals. Some of these are public and others are private; and the private establishments are supported partly by fees of paying patients and partly by endowments or gifts of generous patrons.

4. Educational charity has also assumed many forms. Private philanthropy formerly established free schools for poor children; but now the more progressive states support free schools at public expense and make attendance obligatory. Even yet private philanthropy supplements the public schools in peculiar and exceptional conditions.

Wherever dependent or neglected children must be kept for any length of time, a school must be maintained. For wayward and tempted youth, after the age of compulsory attendance, private philanthropy has provided class-rooms and teachers; and the states are increasing the number of reform schools for the discipline of youth who cannot well be managed in ordinary public schools.

In connection with juvenile courts there must be detention homes with their classes; and all parental, industrial, and reform schools support the pupils, largely at community cost, during the term of discipline.

5. *Care of abnormals.* a) The insane. In the former ages of ignorance, harshness, and neglect, the insane and other abnormals were often confined in prisons and jails with criminals. The only thought was to protect the community against danger. However, even in the Middle Ages, in Spain and Italy, the insane were occasionally gathered by charitable monks in special institutions and kindly treated. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the particular branches of medical science dealing with nervous diseases had a wonderful development. These unfortunate persons were more and more looked upon, not as diabolically possessed, but as simply sick and in need of supervision and nursing. As this more humane and scientific view became popular, it required the establishment of hospitals and asylums, and the removal of the insane to them for the treatment they could not elsewhere enjoy. This movement is not even yet universal in its sweep, but it will not be long until the last of the ancient superstition and cruelty has been swept away.

b) Special institutions or colonies for epileptics are more recent. The epileptics are frequently not insane, and not feeble-minded. They are subject at intervals to terrible and tragic convulsions which are horrible to witness and which bring the victim into extreme danger of life, — as

when he falls unconscious in the crowded street or is caught by revolving machinery. Some epileptics do not have convulsions, but develop dangerous traits, so that they are liable to commit crimes. Punishment does them no good, and when they have served their terms, they come out from prison more dangerous than before.

All these diseased persons should be gathered in agricultural colonies, where they can support themselves by farming and gardening, and escape the perils of ordinary life in towns. This is the view now accepted by experts and gradually adopted in legislation. In the United States, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and other states have established such colonies with very gratifying results.

As epilepsy is an inherited disease, the colonies are made up of celibates, and the sexes are separated, so that they have no offspring to perpetuate their disease and their sufferings.

c) The feeble-minded are persons of arrested nervous development; in the majority of cases, they inherit their disability and cannot be educated and trained to fit them for competitive life. Therefore, the belief is accepted by all competent authorities, and is gradually coming to mould legislation, that those who are seriously feeble-minded should be placed in separate colonies, kindly treated, trained to work at simple industries, as far as possible, and prevented from having any children to bear the hereditary burden of defect.

6. The blind, the deaf, and the crippled, — so far as they are dependent, — are cared for by public or private charity. In most of the states of the American Union the free public schools provide suitable instruction in either special rooms of the ordinary schools, or in state institutions for the blind and deaf, where specially trained teachers aid them to make the most of their limited powers. For the crippled or disabled children, we have only made

beginnings. We do not yet know the number of this class, nor have we fully developed methods of education, training, and care of dependent adults. Out of the experimental institutions we may expect to see, before long, come a method which will be adopted in all the world.

V. *Relief in times of public calamity.* In America and in Europe "famines" are no longer known, although our deliverance dates from comparatively recent times. There are local failures of crops, inundations of low-lying districts, occasionally earthquakes and conflagrations, but never such general distress as was frequent in Europe of the Middle Ages.

Our immunity from such catastrophes is due: 1. to conditions of climate and generally reliable rainfalls, although some great Asiatic countries seem to have the advantage of us in this respect;¹ 2. to irrigation works where rainfall is unreliable; 3. to our networks of railways which bring surplus food from fortunate regions to supply the deficiency in areas whose crops are insufficient; 4. to the widespread use of insurance, whereby the burden of loss is so distributed that it does not crush a few individuals; 5. to the aid of vast public subscriptions and government grants for relief when the calamity is extraordinary. The people of the United States have, from time to time, sent vast quantities of money and food to starving populations in Russia, China, India.

The Red Cross Society, both in peace and war, is the recognized organ of national beneficence when the suffering is too great for the resources of a community or State. It is under the patronage of the national executive. Under the leadership of this great society the nations of the world are gradually coming to an understanding and agree-

¹ KING, *Forty Centuries of Farming*.

ment, and are formulating principles of relief of distress which makes appeal for help to all rich and prosperous countries.

VI. *Policy of Prevention of Misery.* The very activity and liberality of charity has created new problems for the State. Formerly the weak were much more neglected and more likely to perish, and capital punishment was so generally applied to delinquents that it weeded out many undesirable members of society, especially the dangerous.

But now modern medical science has so successfully employed the resources furnished by philanthropy that we are at present actually increasing the number of the insane, feeble-minded, unsteady, and unfit members of society. Our moral convictions and our religion will not permit us to kill these miserable persons, nor even to let them starve. All human beings born on this earth have a right to live, if necessary at the expense of charitable relief, and to be kept from suffering. The sincere acceptance of this article of faith, moral and religious, demands the system of relief of which I have spoken.

In order that charity and social sympathy may not defeat their own purpose by increasing the number of the incapable and unfit, it is becoming clear that we must add to our relief system a policy of prevention, which shall also be merciful, while more reasonable. We desire to retain the beautiful humanity of feeling, but carry it into life on the basis of scientific method.

The Policy of Prevention which is now taking shape in men's minds in the West may be analysed and discussed under the following heads: 1. *Eugenics*; 2. *Education*; 3. control and discipline of difficult citizens; 4. reduction and elimination of the conditions which produce sickness; 5. the social policy for the improvement of the conditions of the Industrial Group, elsewhere discussed, to the end

that none or few of them may drop down into the class of indigents and wastrels.

In regard to the prevention of misery by improving the economic conditions of the wage-earners, especially of those in most precarious situations, we have elsewhere spoken.

The policy of public health, when fully carried out, will greatly reduce the causes of dependence which arise from sickness.

Vocational training and guidance will further diminish the number of those who fail because they have neither skill nor habits of steady industry.

Elimination of the unfit. One form of the eugenic movement is the custodial care of hopelessly defective adults in self-supporting celibate colonies. When the State assumes the support of a dependent person during life, it then acquires the right to decide where and how that person shall live. So long as a human being earns his own way, and does nothing to injure his neighbours, we permit him to select his own path. We give him protection of life, property, and liberty; we offer him schools, libraries, and lectures to guide his judgment and increase his skill; and then we leave him free to work out his destiny, even if he makes some serious mistakes. But when the very capacity for rational choice is lost, and when the person is irresponsible, a radically different policy must be adopted in the name of pity, kindness, and racial integrity. We have already experimented far enough to know that custodial asylums are not only effective, but, under wise and capable management, may be economically conducted. There are many of these half-witted, morally irresponsible, and degenerate people, who are strong enough to work steadily at simple occupations, if they are directed and kindly treated. The most sensible, rational, and humane policy has been discovered. Mercy can be scien-

tific, compassion need not any longer be in conflict with the permanent interest and forward march of a nation. It remains only to carry out this policy in a complete system in every state and nation, to provide the necessary equipment of land, buildings, and directors, and to assure a universal and effective application of the principle under thorough and well-trained administrators. We have already colonies which may safely be imitated in regions where this policy has not yet been adopted by public opinion and governmental authority.

LECTURE THREE

POLICY OF THE WESTERN WORLD IN RELATION TO THE ANTI-SOCIAL

Our ancestors have achieved wonderful success, especially during the more recent centuries: they have cleared forests, built cities, made life comfortable with many inventions, harnessed the lightning, conquered space by the power of steam, and have developed scores of special branches of science. They have formed political nationalities out of wandering, warring tribes of barbarians. They have educated the people to desire and to secure representation in legislation. They have abolished serfdom and slavery, and made men legally free under a régime of voluntary contract.

In the realm of the spirit, Judaism and Christianity have thought out every possible speculation in respect to the nature of the Divine Being, and have included in the range of their speculation the views of the "Sacred Books of the East," and especially the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome.

They have advanced from common observation of the mechanism of thought, feeling, and volition to the controlled and precise methods of laboratory experimentation in physiological psychology.

They have abolished the fear of danger of many plagues, — leprosy, small-pox, cholera, yellow fever, diphtheria, and tuberculosis, — and they have given the younger generation a method of investigation which will gradually bring under control all the preventable diseases.

They have abolished famine, that haunting spectre of the Middle Ages, by improvements in the technique and organization of transportation and distribution.

There remains for the coming generations to abolish war, misery, vice, and *crime*.

It is my purpose in this lecture to indicate, in its main outlines, the most recent policy of progressive thinkers and administrators for the reduction and final abolition of crime.

It is not my intention, as it is not in the line of my professional duty, to discuss the Criminal Law and Procedure of Europe and America. India is familiar, through the splendid work of Macaulay, with the essential and best features of English and American Criminal Law and Procedure.

It is rather the purpose of this lecture to go deeper than texts, statutes, codes, and precedents, and endeavour to disclose the sociological ideas which inspire the reforms and improvements of our age, and the social conditions which make such reforms desirable and even necessary.

Criminal Law, especially when codified, furnishes us a classified list of unlawful actions called crimes, and also a list of sanctions or penalties graded according to the appraised enormity or heinousness of the deed condemned. Criminal Procedure is the method laid down in the law for the apprehension, trial, and conviction or acquittal of persons charged with having committed one of the actions which are threatened with punishment in the code.

But deeper than all such legal forms are the facts and needs of society, and the varying characters of offenders. It is of these we must now speak and think.

I

THE ANTI-SOCIAL PERSONS AS CITIZENS

Criminals are public enemies; but even foes are men; bad men are still citizens, and have their rights. The

religion professed by the Occident teaches that we ought even to love our enemies, not with complacency and approval, but with pity and hope. The mode by which we are trying at once to protect society and save the fallen brother is what we have to consider together.

And I must also confess that we are still in the stage of discussion of this knotty problem and have not yet reached a unanimous agreement on some of the important points. All I can promise is an indication of the main direction of thought and action in this perilous and stormy voyage of discovery.

This hour we must descend into the very Inferno of Occidental society. Perhaps one of the severest tests of the civilization, morality, and religion of a people is its crime class; and one of its marks of backward or advanced stage of development is the mode of its reaction against its enemies.

For, the offender against wholesome law is a public enemy; he is the foe of peace, order, society, refinement, morality, beauty, religion. His attitude is hostile. If the numbers and strength of criminals is great, they are bold and cruel; if they are few and subdued, they are sneaking and treacherous.

All countries in the Occident must confess with shame the existence of numerous criminals; and comparative statistics do not give occasion of boasting to any one people.

II

THE EXTENT OF CRIME

1. The number of professional criminals in Western nations is not very great. It is a small fraction and without social influence.

2. The number of persons who transgress laws and ordinances, with or without punishment, is very great.

Indeed, as cities increase in size and complexity, the regulations of conduct supported by penalties increase in number, until no citizen can know or remember them. On the surface, the statistics of crime show badly for us; but such statistics are often misleading, because they include many trespasses which are the result of ignorance of a rule, or an accidental injury calling for indemnity rather than punishment, and are not crimes in the proper sense of the word. The fines for violation of city ordinances are not punishments, but rather disciplinary measures to secure the enforcement of useful customs.

3. We must, however, confess that the statistics of crime are, in other directions, short of the facts; for most criminal violations of law never come to light, or they are done with such skill and under such shrewd legal advice that they cannot be brought to court for trial.

4. However small the number of criminals, the mischief they do is known to be vast, even appalling. It is a serious matter to have a horde of parasites feeding on the toil and sacrifice of a people, destroying property, rendering life and industry insecure, and compelling us to support armies of policemen, judges, courts, jails, penitentiaries to maintain tolerable order.

III

KINDS OF CRIMINALS RECOGNIZED BY MODERN SOCIAL SCIENCE

We have no large bands or tribes of men organized to rob and pillage. Where police and courts have been established, these groups are dissolved. Rarely, and only in obscure places, do small "gangs" of dangerous men hold together for a short time for criminal purposes.

1. There are offenders who are not responsible in the sense of criminal law. Among the motley multitude who do forbidden deeds, recognized as socially harmful,

there are many who are not legally "criminals". Thus, many insane persons commit theft, robbery, arson, assault, or homicide, and are not punished, because their physical condition makes them irresponsible. They are restrained of liberty for their cure, not for punishment.

With the advance of medical science and modern psychology the range of these excepted cases is enlarged, and more discrimination is used.

Epilepsy and imbecility are more carefully studied, their peculiarities are better known, and the appropriate treatment has been improved. There is a very strong movement to connect an expert in nervous diseases with each criminal court, in order to discover those persons who are charged with crime, but ought not to be put on trial as charged with crime, but should be sent to a hospital for medical treatment and control. Already, in the Juvenile Court of my own city, a physician and a psychologist examine each youthful offender and furnish their findings to the judge, to aid him in prescribing the treatment. Sometimes medical and educational treatment will remove the cause of erratic conduct and restore the person to normal ways of action.

2. There are, of course, some cases on the borderland between normality and insanity; but it would be easy to keep such persons, if they have been troublesome, under control and observation, until their true condition is made out.

3. The "defective delinquent" has come to be distinguished and separated for special treatment. Thus, an interesting law of the State of Massachusetts (1911) designates certain offenders as "defective delinquents", both men and women, and instructs the prison administration to erect for them departments for a particular and suitable regimen.

4. The young offender ("first offender"),—educable. There are persons who commit deeds which are serious

and hurtful, and yet have not a deeply vicious nature. Even when the unlawful act is repeated, it may not imply a seated and rooted criminality. Such persons are frequently brought before our courts. Sometimes a reprimand or warning from the judge may be sufficient to turn the boy or young man back into the right path. But, generally, we have found that a lawless deed is not alone; it points back to other lapses which had not come to light. Therefore, persons of this category have been placed under probation and supervision of a reliable officer and watched for a time.

When the offence is too serious to ignore or pass over with a fine or release under watchcare, we have, in America, established a graded series of institutions: "Parental Schools" for truant and difficult children who run away from the public schools; Industrial or Reform Schools, where boys or girls are kept for several years for education and occupational training; "Reformatories", like the famous institution at Elmira, New York, for more mature young men, of eighteen years or more, who should not be kept with confirmed and hardened criminals. Something akin to this system is started in most European countries.

5. Finally, we have the habitual criminal, the man who has formed the habit of living without regular work, on the proceeds of theft and robbery. Among habitual offenders we must distinguish between—*a*) the weaklings, *b*) the trained, professional criminals.

IV

THE SOCIAL PURPOSE OF THE OCCIDENT IN THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

This cannot be stated in few words, for it is complex and many-sided. Ages ago a great philosopher of Greece interpreted the rational end of punishment of offenders:

Now the proper office of punishment is two-fold; he who is rightly punished ought either to become better and profit by it, or he ought to be made an example to his fellows, that they may see what he suffers, and fear, and become better. (PLATO, *Gorgias*.)

1. There is the objective fact, the crime; that is, the action which brings injury to the individual victim, and disturbs social order, which menaces security of life and property, and defies government.

Crimes as objective facts are classified in criminal codes and statutes as offences against person, property, order, peace, reputation, public health, morality, etc. The more important community interests thus furnish the basis for grouping of the actions condemned. This classification of crimes according to groups of social interests shows that one purpose of society must be the protection of these interests.

The use of fear and pain, as legal consequences of crime, is legitimate and reasonable. Experience has shown, at least men universally so believe, that fear is necessary to repress anti-social conduct. Pain is to the individual a signal of danger to health, a beneficent though disagreeable warning of suffering or death. Pain in the "body politic" has a similar office. The knowledge that certain anti-social actions will, in a high degree of probability, bring pain and loss, is a deterrent.

Society must act; it cannot give impunity to its lawless citizens, for this would encourage them to go on in evil ways. Criminals are aggressive in satisfying their selfish desire at the cost of others, and a passive non-resistance policy would be suicidal. It would not be kindness to wicked men to encourage them in their hope of impunity.

2. Many legal writers assert that another purpose of punishment is retribution; to pay back upon the offender a penalty measured by his guilt. But many of us reject this idea of retribution (*Vergeltung*, *pena*), because we regard it as a mere reminiscence of revenge and ancient com-

pensation. We do not believe a price ought to be placed upon crime, or that any measure of guilt can be found.

That there is a quite general instinctive demand in modern communities for retribution, for "getting even" with offenders, we readily grant; but we think this is an instinct to be overcome, and that some rational, social end should be substituted for it as rapidly as possible. As a matter of fact, this notion is gradually being disavowed and abandoned as irrational.

At the same time, it is true that the moral antagonism against wrong-doing ought to find expression. The normal man, of sound character, is not indifferent to good and evil and will show his displeasure, even with his own children. He will not be cruel nor passionate; but by look and action he will manifest his protest or approval.

3. The nature and character of the offender, so far as it is anti-social, requires "reformation". If we can reduce the aims of "punishment" to two,—1. protection of society, and 2. reclamation of the offender, we find they can be reconciled. It is not always possible to reform the convict, by any means yet discovered. In such case, society should use its power to restrain the incorrigible offender in such a way that he cannot do harm. But in all cases, the offender is still a man, a citizen, and so long as he is alive, it is the duty of the State to ply him with all the influences which give promise of improving him. The discipline necessary for reformation is itself at first painful, but not damaging, to the lawless man. What he needs most is what he desires least.

V

THE RESOURCES AND MEASURES OF SOCIETY IN CARRYING OUT ITS SELF-PROTECTIVE AND REFORMATORY AIMS

1. The fine. Deprivation of one's property and earnings is felt to be painful. The threat of a pecuniary loss

is a warning to persons who are tempted; it causes an offender, convicted and fined, to reflect in the future and to avoid repetition of his careless, heedless, or malicious action. The fine sets up "inhibitions" in the psychical mechanism; and that is its purpose.

2. Imprisonment, deprivation of liberty (*Freiheitsstrafe*), has come to be the classic punishment in the Occident since the seventeenth century.¹ When a man is incarcerated, he is deprived of all his customary and chosen satisfactions. He can no longer do what pleases himself, and he must do what he is commanded. If he has been idle and parasitic, he finds regular industry at first irksome and monotonous. Loss of freedom is the sum of all losses and pains. His labour does not enrich him, but the product goes to others.

3. The death penalty is an inheritance from ages when capital punishment was inflicted for almost all offences which made a man a nuisance to his neighbours. It is retained in some States, and totally abolished in others, by law, as in Italy, Wisconsin, Michigan, or by executive action, as in Belgium.

Everywhere the use of the extreme penalty has declined; and it is now practically applied only in case of murder of very horrible form. Some of the reasons many of us oppose the death penalty, are: It is totally unnecessary; life imprisonment is sufficient to protect society and to deter men from murder. It seems to us inhuman to kill a man when he is wholly in our power. If he is attacking us armed to kill, we have no hesitation in taking his life to defend ourselves or our families or neighbours. But, when the murderer is once disarmed and helpless, necessity no longer calls for his life. The fact that the man has done a brutal and atrocious deed, is not a good reason

¹ F. H. WINES, *Punishment and Reformation*.

for a great and moral state to imitate him. We are opposed to capital punishment, because it is irreparable. Now and then a man has been put to death by hanging and after it was too late, it has been proved that he was innocent of the deed. Judicial killing, it seems to us, tends to increase the dominance of revengeful and animal passions in a community, and so to perpetuate the evils which punishments should diminish.

4. In recent years, in the Occident, two measures have found more frequent and general application, within certain limits and for certain categories of offenders. They both illustrate the tendency to apply educational principles in the administration of the criminal law, — probation and parole. I shall speak chiefly of their operation in the United States, because there I have had better opportunities of observing their results, and in that country they have been more fully developed than elsewhere.

a) Probation, especially of “first offenders”, or persons who, though guilty of some transgression, are not as yet habitual criminals. The prison is disgraceful, and lowers self-respect. No upright man can spend even one night in a cell without some loss of moral courage, some diminution of confidence. Often it is impossible for a “jailbird”, even if innocent, to get a position and earn a living where he has resided. A few months in prison means financial ruin to a man who has held positions of trust. A mechanic or labourer leaves his family without their usual support and they may be reduced to beggary. Whenever it is possible to avoid it, therefore, men should not be arrested and imprisoned, unless they are certainly anti-social at heart and dangerous. By placing an offender on probation he is made to feel the seriousness of his wrong, and, if he is morally weak, he can be supervised and directed. The court receives reports from him and from the probation officer or his bondsman, and may send

him to prison after all, if milder measures fail; but the fortunes of the man depend upon himself. The man in prison can earn little, if anything, but if he is out on probation, he can go on at his usual occupation and his earnings are not cut off; the tie to his family is not broken.

b) The parole system is similar in principle to the probation system, only it comes after serving a certain time in prison, instead of taking the place of imprisonment. The paroled man, after a period of good conduct, is brought before the parole board and agrees to abide by the terms imposed. A position is found for him; some citizen promises to befriend him; and a parole agent of the State supervises his conduct, helps him to keep his place, and encourages him in his good resolutions. He must not associate with bad characters; he must be industrious; and he must report his work and earnings. After some months or years of this "conditional and supervised liberty" he may be set absolutely free. In any case, he cannot be restrained beyond the maximum period named in the law for his offence.

It is evident that the success of these systems of probation and parole depend greatly on their administration. There is no magical influence in a mechanism; those who train the convict for liberty must be men of intelligence, character, optimism, tact, patience.

5. Restitution. Some experiments have been tried with the method of requiring the malefactor, as one condition of discharge from custody, to make restitution to the injured party, so far as possible, for damaged interests. There is a double advantage in this course; it tends to make the public have a deeper respect for law and courts and it has a good influence on the offender. It probably also tends to act as a deterrent influence, since burglars and thieves realize that they cannot retain their booty by simply serving a sentence, but must both suffer the penalty

of outraged law and also yield up the fruits of their crime to the wronged party.

6. Institutions. There is general agreement that an institution should be avoided as far as possible, and in recent years, great progress has been made in inventing and testing substitutes for incarceration. There are not a few intelligent men who think that no prison of any kind can be made a place of reformation, that the conditions of life are such as to make improvement of character there hopeless. But this attitude of discouragement is not general and has only a moderate degree of influence. Caustic criticism of the jail and state prisons does serve the good purpose of calling attention to the superior benefits of probation. Yet the institution, for a long time to come, will be a necessity. Some men must be placed where they can be controlled, until they learn self-control; and society cannot give liberty to men so long as they abuse their freedom to the damage of orderly citizens.

First of all, we must insist on a classification of delinquents and a corresponding gradation of institutions. The wayward children require little restraint, and can generally be managed in selected family homes or in temporary schools while they are being trained for normal family life. Such temporary schools are a necessity, and they must be provided in every state or city.

For rebellious and intractable youth, boys and girls, special schools are necessary for a period of special education. Many such young persons cannot be admitted to good homes without a period of moral and physical quarantine and discipline; nor can they be permitted to remain in the domestic and neighbourhood surroundings which have caused their fall. For most such persons a village of cottages in the open country, with occupations in house, school, farm, garden, and shops, is the best situation for training. Usually, walls, locks, and gratings

are not necessary when the group is distant from the places where intrusion of base city characters is to be feared. Considerable liberty can be given without danger of abuse.

Reformatories. When we come to young offenders from about the eighteenth to the twenty-sixth year, we have a different problem. Excluding from present consideration those for whom disciplinary probation is an available method and sufficient restraint, we come to large groups of young men and young women who require a special regimen which has been worked out with great skill in certain institutions. Mr. Z. R. Brockway, of Elmira Reformatory, is the most distinguished representative of this system.¹ He did not originate all the parts of the system, but he combined them and made them work with great success. In such a Reformatory, we find a thorough study of the physical, mental, and moral condition of each prisoner; a systematic course of exercise, bathing, and diet to bring the body into the best possible condition of health and vigour; military drill for securing an erect, soldierly carriage and the self-respect which is induced by a manly bearing; a series of practice-exercises in manual training and special trade-lessons to give a man the skill and industrious habit which will enable him to live without theft; the schools of letters and morals to quicken the intellect, sharpen the moral judgment and multiply the wholesome interests of the prisoner. When the young man has thus been trained, and has proved himself worthy of confidence by steady industry, he is released on parole, and finally, set free altogether. But at every step, his freedom and privileges depend upon his own conduct. He carries the key to the outward opening door, and can

¹ Z. R. BROCKWAY, *Fifty Years of Prison Service*, 1912, an autobiography. The Borstal system in Eng-

land is similar in purpose and method.

PAUL HERR, *Das moderne amerikanische Verbesserungssystem*, 1907.

be free when he chooses; that is, when he chooses to behave as a good citizen.

The so-called "indeterminate sentence", or some equivalent, is absolutely essential to an effective reformatory system. The reason is obvious to any one who knows human nature. If a prisoner knows that he must stay a certain period of months or years, however upright his behaviour, and that he will be entirely free at the end of that period, no matter how lawless he may be in prison, it is difficult to reform him; he can be kept in order only by severe and cruel punishments. If, on the contrary, he knows that every act of misconduct is recorded against him and will prolong his penal servitude, and that every month of good conduct is recorded in his favour and will hasten his day of liberation, he co-operates naturally and instinctively with the administrators of the reformatory. Furthermore, he realizes that the guards and superintendent have no other purpose than to help him make himself worthy of freedom; and as they represent the State and its law, he gradually reconciles himself to respect for the institutions of society, and is no longer a dangerous rebel. When the manifest purpose of the prison is still mere retribution, the prisoner soon discovers it, and it poisons his soul; it keeps alive in his spirit a desire to avenge himself and "get even" with society.

VI

JUVENILE COURTS

Naturally, I am proud to bear the message of the Juvenile Court to the Orient, because it was first legally established, in 1899, in my own city and by a circle of my personal friends and co-workers with whom I conferred at every stage of the development of this beneficent insti-

tution. In former days, children over a certain age (12 or 14 years) who violated the code were legally criminals. But, either by legal provisions for "attenuating circumstances", or by the clemency of courts, they were usually not at once arrested and punished. One of two evil results followed: either the child or young person went free without being made to feel a sense of wrong-doing, or he was thrust into a prison and its vile and depraving company. Either course was ruinous. What was required was a prompt, steady, firm, but parental control of the child or youth who was falling into evil ways, and enforcement of family duties of protection, maintenance, and education. Mr. Charles Collard has said of this movement: "Born in America, the tribunals for children have rapidly passed beyond the frontier of the United States and have conquered a part of the world: all the civilized nations have introduced them or are on the point of introducing them into their judicial organization". (*Revue de Droit Pénal et de Criminologie*, Février, 1912.)

The Juvenile Court Law does not tend to relieve the parents of their moral and legal obligations, but rather enforces these when the father and mother are neglectful. After a time of experiment, it was found that some parents, especially poor widows, who were obliged to earn a living outside the home, were financially unable to watch over their children and prevent them from growing up lawless. Private charity, in many cases, paid the poor mother, so she could stay at home and not be compelled to neglect her household in order to earn a living or send her children to an institution. One of our States (Illinois) has recently gone a step further and given the judge authority to pay a pension to indigent mothers in such conditions. They can now remain at home and keep their little ones in school, until they are old enough to be breadwinners and help her.

Essential features of the Juvenile Court. — 1. A separate court-room must be provided, so that children may not be forced into contact with the ordinary crowd of curiosity-seekers who frequently linger about the scene of criminal trials. By holding the hearings in a room of more familiar character, without the terrifying pomp of regular criminal trials, the child is not made to feel that he is an outcast and a villain.

The Juvenile Court apartments should assure freedom from that publicity which makes the culprit imagine himself to be the hero of some famous drama, admired and praised by wondering comrades as a brave and daring adventurer. The very quiet and serious dignity of the judge makes the boy confide in him, and removes the lad from the malign influence of the "gangs", whose standards are vulgar, narrow, and debasing.

This court must have under its control certain detention rooms where children may be temporarily kept under observation and apart from demoralizing influences until the court can gather the information necessary for a wise judgment. It is a crying sin against children to place them in a jail, even though it be in a separate department. The associations are damaging to the reputation and the self-respect of the young, and strongly suggest to them the idea of casting in their lot with the enemies of order.

2. The most important factor is the judge of the Juvenile Court. A layman should not be chosen, at least for the head of the court. While the procedure is simple and untechnical, it must be legal beyond question, and no person not learned in the law can be sure that his decisions conform to fundamental law and include consideration for all rights in controversy. There is no objection to having as associates both men and women of intelligence and training, if the customs of a country

make this desirable.¹ For the examination of girls involved in sexual delinquency, a trained and mature woman may well act as the representative of the judge, under his legal instructions.

3. About the judge of each Juvenile Court, if many cases are involved, must be gathered a corps of "probation officers". These are men and women, who should be chosen by the judge and be under his control, and who should aid him in securing information about the family and in carrying out the course of treatment which he decides is best for child, parents, and the public.

In a large town or city, where the business of the court is heavy, there must be one or more salaried probation officers, in sufficient number to make sure that nothing is neglected. Volunteer visitors, unpaid, may also be used in particular cases; but their service is not always reliable, and they must be carefully supervised by the chief probation officers.

4. The psychologist of the court. The judge should act upon expert information. The physical and psychical nature of the child, his domestic surroundings, his previous habits and conduct should be carefully and systematically studied by persons trained in the psychological laboratory. A medical officer is often desirable for passing on morbid states of the pupils.

VII

POLICY OF PREVENTION²

It has become clear to many careful observers that the entire penal code and prison system, no matter how well

¹ In Norway and Sweden judicial forms are abandoned altogether and a neighbourhood council of advisors are authorized to have charge of juvenile offenders.

² C. R. HENDERSON, *Agencies and Methods of Prevention*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1910.

administered, must fail to reach the most general and profound causes of crime and vice. They all fail, in some measure, because they come too late.

The criminal law and its administration cannot punish merely on suspicion, nor because a person has an ugly, deformed, brutal physiognomy and looks like a thief or murderer. No man can be legally punished without positive proof that he personally has committed an action which is defined in the law, with a penalty attached for such commission.

And yet the authorities of a city or village may know, if they desire to know and take pains to learn, that certain persons are living in such associations and conditions as will almost certainly be their ruin, unless the habits and associations can be broken up and new interests aroused.

The Occident has grown very sensitive about interfering with the liberty of adults, because, in the past, tyrants and oppressors have abused their power of control and punishment, and because a wide range of liberty is necessary for the best development of character.

The strategic place to make a stand against the common foe is not at the threshold of the home, but on the fortified frontier. When the whelming ocean pours over the dike, resistance with a broom at the church-door is futile. Resistance to criminality must begin in the feelings, habits, beliefs, relations of the people; the struggle in the prison is too late; the mischief is done; the real causes of criminality lie not there, but in want of fraternal affection and civil respect, and common justice in the great wide world of industry, politics, culture.

Crime is prevented by the exercise of universal justice, in all relations of life. When the multitudes of the toiling poor see that the nation has resolved to protect their rights, to guard their health, to educate their children, to restrain the greed of landlords and employers, to secure them judi-

cial hearing speedily and without cost, to insure their income in times of accident, disease, invalidism, old age, unemployment, and support of wife and children in case of untimely death of the father,—then the multitudes will be more inclined to love and respect the law of their country, and crime will diminish.

Crime is anti-social conduct which is so flagrant as to attract attention, while the actors fail to escape detection and conviction. Crime, apart from the deeds of irresponsible weaklings and abnormals, is simply selfish conduct of an aggravated nature; it does not differ essentially from any other expression of intense selfishness.

In all lands, in varying forms, there is class conflict of interests. Men who are just and kind in their own family, or class, or sect group, do not feel bound to be just and kind to persons who are not members of this group. The world over, we can discover examples of this group morality, which seems to be a “survival” of the morality universal before political society came to be. In city and country alike, men justify themselves for cheating an employer, who would feel ashamed to cheat their fellow-workmen. The domestic employée sometimes thinks there is no moral wrong in purloining from the store the food materials of her mistress. The trade unionist will consider it no more than justice to destroy the property of the company for which he works. The poor often sincerely believe that it is almost laudable to bleed the rich. This attitude of mind, after brooding and discussion, prepares the will for speculation, theft, and even brutal assault with intent to kill. Evidently it is a perilous and menacing condition, when a nation is divided into hostile camps, into clans of persons who watch each other with suspicion and hate, ready to take advantage of any cessation of equally alert suspicion, fear, and hatred on the other side. There is no single cure for this disease, a malady which

has long fostered in the souls of men and is made more virulent by the controversies of the ages.

For this particular cause of crime there is no remedy in force, in police, in law. All depends on a profound transformation of the springs of action in the beliefs and affections of men and in corresponding customs and conduct.

Noblesse oblige! The superior must make the advances. As God comes down to men, so those who are strong, rich, learned, influential must prove their superiority by treating the ignorant, the miserable, the superstitious, the debased, with kindness. The employer must sit down with elected representatives of the employés and hear from them the occasions for jealousy, dread, hate, distrust. The industrial world must learn a lesson from political world and build up a system of representative councils. The captains of industry often wound the sensitive feelings of their workmen without knowing it. It is vastly important that the wage-earners shall have an authorized mode of presenting grievances. Strikes, mutinies, revolt, carnage, result from the suppression of complaints. Free, candid discussion between representatives of both sides is a safety-valve which prevents disastrous explosions.

Hence, in the industrial world of the West, we have the *Conseils de Prud'hommes* in France, the Industrial Courts of Germany, the Boards of Conciliation in the English-speaking countries. They are very significant and beneficent in oiling the points of friction in the machinery of the world of labour and capital.

Many of the incitements to vice and crime can be removed by public authority. Among these causes of depraved and anti-social conduct may be mentioned the public-houses for the sale of alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs, the open and unabashed solicitation of unchaste women in the streets, the vendors of obscene and shame-

less papers and books, the vile dramatic plays which debase character and kindle the fires of passion, the low dance-halls where, with the aid of drink and drugs, young girls are lured to ruin,—all these are gradually, if slowly, brought under legal control. The standard of morality becomes more refined and exacting.

Crime is prevented by the supply of normal satisfactions of natural desires. Let us consider some illustrations of this principle. The “gang” is a natural association of boys brought together by the common needs of active play and companionship. Unguided, these young persons of brief experience and strong impulses only too frequently combine to steal, to break windows, to resist policemen, annoy passers, and even commit crimes of adventure. They read sensational books which fire their fancy with lawless deeds of daring in which the criminal is painted as a brave hero. In these gangs criminals are educated, and society suffers.

We have found that when settlements, societies of men, Churches, and municipal authorities furnish club-rooms, athletic halls, playgrounds, shops with tools for such “gangs”, they speedily become tame and honourable, their activities become useful, and we call the band or horde a “club” or a “class”. In such provision for youth the Young Men’s Christian Association and the Young Women’s Christian Association have achieved notable results, with such manifestly wholesome effects that shrewd business men, no matter what their creed, have come to the financial support of these associations with contributions of millions of dollars. It pays to help the young to be happy in good ways.

The action of the Churches in preventing crime. The Church represents the principle of antagonism to moral evil and of redemption from evil by grace incarnate in kind people who believe in the inherent nobility of human-

ity and in the goodness of the Universal Father. The Founder of Christianity, in His teachings about the finality of divine justice, made beneficence to prisoners a test of loyalty to His person and cause. John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, and numerous other Christian philanthropists illustrate the spirit of Jesus in the field of work for the fallen; and societies to aid prisoners and their families are found in all European and American States.

In recent years, the Churches have been led to think of prevention of crime, owing to the rapid progress of social science in this direction, since science lays emphasis on the discovery and removal of causes. The most effective service of religious people in preventing crime and vice does not consist in direct efforts to change the character of confirmed criminals, but rather in multiplying the influences which elevate the tone of thinking, recreation, fellowship, and morality in the entire community. Every Church is a small society in which its members and their children find pure and noble satisfactions: intellectual stimulus and instruction, artistic enjoyment of music, architecture, pictures, poetry, and often eloquence. In these assemblies millions meet to renew their covenants of mutual kindness and helpfulness, to collect money for lifting the burdens of the weak and despairing, to listen to warnings against wrong-doing, to offer worship to God supreme and holy. No one can tell how many thousands have been turned into the right road at the moment in youth when an unwise choice is so fatal. There is a picture in which the artist portrays a tender child moving heedlessly along a perilous path close to a terrible precipice, when a single misstep would be death down in the awful chasm. The innocent wondering face bears no mark of anxiety about the unknown peril, and does not note that a beautiful white angel treading with noiseless step the path behind him, holds his strong hand ready to grasp the arm of the child,

should it stumble. So religion, with its white-robed ideal, invisible, unrecognized, has kept many of us even from looking at the abyss of wickedness and woe. The Church has guided us away from the very suggestion of evil and filled our minds with the visions of towering and majestic mountain-heights of goodness and of happy valleys laughing with fields and flowers and bathed in sunshine. From one who represents modern philanthropy in its noblest forms of expression comes this appeal to the Church with an argument drawn from the creed which it professes. It calls the whole body of believers to follow their Lord and to imitate those who have already consecrated their lives to His service for the lowly, the despised, and the fallen. "The Christian Church cannot hope to eradicate the social evil, until it is willing to fairly make it the test of its religious vitality, to forget its ecclesiastical traditions, to drop its cynicism and worldliness, to go back to the method advocated by Jesus Himself for dealing with all sinners, including not only the harlot, but, we are bound to believe, even those men who live upon her earnings and whom we call every foul name. The method of Jesus was nothing more nor less than sheer forgiveness, *the overcoming of the basest evil by the august power of goodness, the overpowering of the sinner by the loving kindness of his brethren, the breaking up of long entrenched evil by the concerted goodwill of society*". (Miss Jane Addams, LL. D., *In the Survey*, May 4, 1912.)

A Chicago judge is quoted as having said: "Rarely, almost never, were the parties to a divorce suit active Church-workers." A Brooklyn judge was quoted as saying that "crime now costs us 700,000,000 dollars a year, that it would cost us ten times as much, if there were no Churches, and that it would cost hardly anything, if all were in the Churches".

To a Christian believer the most pathetic, touching, and

persuasive picture in all history is that of the Crucifixion. There gentleness was crushed by brutality; there justice was mocked by public authority; there the mob spirit scoffed at law; there divine love was met by misunderstanding and requited with hate and murder. And there, with a prayer of pity and forgiveness on His lips, crucified between two malefactors, the Innocent One spent His last moments of agony in the company of criminals. Now by that Cross He conquers the heart of mankind and reigns supreme, wherever love is appreciated and received as the law of life. By that tragic scene we are taught compassion even for the outcast and enemy; our selfishness, our revenge, our neglect are rebuked; and we hear in the cry of the Crucified the voice of pity and the proclamation of redemption.

LECTURE FOUR

PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND MORALITY

SECTION ONE: PUBLIC HEALTH

There is ethical justification of a public policy to protect and promote public health. In general terms, this has already been discussed. In personality, the body has an essential place. The condition of the body affects the spirit in its manifestations, powers, habits, and finally its character. This is demonstrated in injuries to the skull, as when a fracture presses the bone upon the brain and transforms an industrious, upright citizen into a treacherous criminal. "Feeble-mindedness" has its basis in an incomplete development of the brain; frequently it is hereditary; often it leads to prostitution and hence becomes the cause of temptation and moral debasement of boys and men. The influence of body on soul is manifest in the effects of drugs, as alcohol and opium, which frequently change a respectable and kindly person into a liar, a beggar, a thief, or a murderer. Even lingering illness and malnutrition show their depressing influence in feeble will, peevishness and spitefulness, and in inability to take up the duties of domestic relations and of business. The exact relations of mind and body need not be discussed here; the outstanding facts, open to the observation of the world, are sufficient for our purpose.

It must be sharply pointed out here that our chief emphasis is on the organization and working of measures. We are not attempting, just now, to prove that we ought to promote general health, to save life, to prolong life, to make it more vigorous and effective. The Western World generally assumes this as a duty; although there are a few

systematic sceptics and a very large number of practical infidels, — *i. e.* those who are indifferent to our creed of the worth of health; and superstitions linger.

There are a few in the Occident who reduce their practical indifference to human welfare to a philosophy of the uselessness of all life: it is better — they say — not to be born at all; if born, to become extinct as easily as possible; all life being illusion. But we do not take these speculators seriously; for they are not serious. Usually, they are people in comfortable financial circumstances who have leisure to cultivate eccentricities, and talk misery over their wine and fats. Those who are trying to make some little corner clean, wholesome, and cheerful have no time for such oddities.

There are others who think life has value only in the case of superior men (superman); all the rest are useless, except as they contribute to the power and delight of the superman. These furnish a philosophy for the practical conduct of the oppressor — for the manufacturer, for example, who cares nothing for his employés and treats them as parts of his machinery for making profits. In the Western World it is socially impossible to avow such a creed in public, without contempt and aversion; though we must confess, it has only too much influence in actual affairs.

The tendency, however, is to assume that all lives have worth and that it is duty to serve and enlarge them. We cannot stop here to argue whether the “ethical justification” of these measures belongs to “science” or to “philosophy”. That is an important question; but its treatment belongs elsewhere.

If any man says: “I do not believe that I, or any other person, or any community, is under any moral obligation to make efforts and sacrifices to produce a healthy, vigorous, and powerful race”, I cannot now stop to argue with him. One thing, however, seems sure, that the

acceptance of such a creed as that has disastrous results; its tendency is to extinguish the people who receive it. The community which really believes such a teaching, so as to act on it, will dig its own grave with this doctrine for a spade. Such a philosophy will die with its teachers and their followers and leave the "philosophy" of health in possession of this planet. That is what is happening before our eyes. The people who believe in health and in scientific ways of taking care of it will possess the earth. But we begin with the creed of moral obligation in relation to physical well-being, as a premise accepted by the Western World,—perhaps on the ground of merely "common sense" philosophy, which may not endure theoretical criticism, but works well when fairly tried.

Is there any such conflict between science and philosophy? Must we remain "agnostic" about the deepest interest of existence, the very foundation of conduct? Can we know only facts and series of facts and their causal connections? Are our beliefs as to the reasons of conduct, as to right and wrong, as to the worth of life, to be remanded to some region of irrationality, nescience? It is impossible here to pursue this inquiry.

Perhaps we can get at the answer in our more practical way by showing that our assumption is a good "working hypothesis"; that it will work, that it fits in with the order of the universe; that it makes thinking clearer. When we have constructed a wise and good world, it is easier to believe in a good Mind in control of all. Perhaps a reasonable certainty ought not to be expected apart from endeavour and self-devotion to the ideals.

Only he earns freedom and existence
Who daily conquers them anew. (GÖETHE, *Faust*.)

The modern ideal of the Occident includes robust, vigorous bodily condition, joy of activity, sense of efficiency.

Robert Browning (in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*) has thus voiced this ideal:

To man, propose this test —
Thy body at its best,
How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?

Yet gifts should prove their use:
I own the Past profuse
Of power each side, perfection every turn.
Eyes, Ears took in their dole,
Brain treasured up the whole;
Should not the heart beat once "How good to live and learn?"

For pleasant is this flesh;
Our soul, in its rose-mesh
Pulled ever to the earth, still yearns for rest:
Let us not always say,
"Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry, "All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!"

The value of vigorous vitality is illustrated in every country and at all crises of existence. It is a tragedy when the brilliant student consumes his energy and his life goes out in a flash, when he should be serving his town or his nation for a half century.

See how the young wife looks forward with joy and pride to the hour when she shall look into the loving eyes of her babe,— and there she lies, the cold infant in her arms, too weak to endure the strain of this high calling of maternity.

There also a faithful man has toiled to secure a modest livelihood for his wife and children, and in full strength is poisoned by the vapours of his workplace and falls a victim to disease. His little ones are hungry, dwarfed in

body, and deprived of education, and his untrained boys become criminal.

Our Christian Gospel has a very clear and definite message on the subject of health. Jesus Himself was a minister of healing,—no matter what construction may be put on the miraculous element in the story. His holy life sanctified the flesh. His faithful apostle, Paul, taught that our bodies are the temple of Deity, and that Christ is the Redeemer of the body.

The Body is sacred. As Carlyle (*Sartor Resartus*) said: "For whether thou bear a sceptre or a sledge-hammer, art not thou *alive*; is not this thy brother *alive*? 'There is but one temple in the world,' says Novalis, 'and that temple is the Body of Man. Nothing is holier than this high Form. Bending before men is a reverence done to this Revelation in the Flesh. We touch Heaven, when we lay our hands on a human Body.'

"Whereas the English Johnson only bowed to every Clergyman, or man with a shovel-hat, I would bow to every Man with any sort of hat, or with no hat whatever. Is not he a Temple, then; the visible Manifestation and Impersonation of the Divinity?"

In the struggle for health and against disease, the world is kin, and we can join hands as brothers in a holy alliance. Shakespeare (*Merch. of Ven. iii*), in the speech of Shylock, taught this universal truth: "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?"

The field of public hygiene is of vast extent and importance. A partial analysis of the topics of discussion before the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography (1912) will help one to form some conception

of how extended and important this field of study has become.¹

¹ *Programme of Preventive Medicine in the West.*

I. The scientific study of the facts, demography and vital statistics; the records of marriages, births, deaths, and the causes of death.

II. The scientific study of causes: for example of depressing conditions, crowding, malnutrition, defective housing, debasing habits and customs; poisons; infections and microbial enemies of human life.

III. General hygiene: principles and approved measures in relation to food, exercise, cleanliness, ventilation.

IV. Hygiene of infancy and childhood, in home and school.

V. Industrial and occupational hygiene: physiology and pathology of work and fatigue; neuroses of fatigue; eye-strain; compressed air (caisson diseases); intense heat; dangers of miners and tunnel workers; effect of electricity on health; metal workers; brass poisoning; mercury; plumbism; anthrax.

Safety devices; occupational diseases clinic (as at Milan, Italy).

Influence of various occupations on women and on children. Tenement house manufactures. Alcohol as a predisposing cause of disease. Venereal diseases.

VI. Control of infectious diseases: Bacillus-carriers. Aerial and contact infection. Flies and other insects as carriers of disease. Artificial immunization: vaccines (small-pox, typhoid, etc.), control of tuberculosis.

VII. State and municipal hygiene. Boards of Health:

Water-supply: sources and their protection; purification by storage, biological and chemical processes. Disposal of waste by sewage and other devices. Municipal and national control of plague. Air-pollution and ventilation. City-planning to secure light, air, space, parks. Housing problems. Rural hygiene. Milk-supply. Pure food.

Social insurance against loss of income by accident, sickness, invalidism, in relation to public hygiene.

Race hygiene and eugenics.

Prevention of inebriety.

VIII. Hygiene of traffic and transportation: street traffic and tramways; noise and dirt. Roadbeds and stations. Railway cars and sleeping cars: disinfection; prevention of accidents; food and water for the travelling public; prevention of spread of communicable diseases.

Lake and river traffic; water-borne diseases. Ships and shipping; quarantine in ports. Supervision of emigration and immigration.

IX. Military, naval, and tropical hygiene.

X. Institutes for scientific investigation, and improvement of instruction and training of medical officers; preventive medicine.

See the programme and proceedings of the International Congress on Hygiene and Demography (1912); and publications of the Dresden Exposition of Hygiene (1911).

From this long and impressive catalogue of investigations, to which thousands of men and women of the highest order of ability have consecrated their lives, we may select a few subjects to illustrate the significance of public hygiene in the programme of social progress in our century.

It affords me peculiar satisfaction to note that the medical profession in India is true to its noble traditions, and that its past achievements here in the East furnish the solid basis for a hope of its future conquest of disease among these teeming millions of our brother men. At every turn I find the evidences of the universal brotherhood of ideas in science and art, all consecrated to the good of humanity. What I shall outline as a policy of the West is already well started in Japan, China, and India; and I would be glad to encourage and cheer some of those who are engaged in this patriotic, humane, and religious service.

There must be hope for a people who is happy in hearing such sound, sensible, and reverent counsel as that recently uttered by Sir Jamsetjee Jijibhoy, of Bombay. Sir Jamsetjee said:

It is creditable to them that they frankly made a minute investigation. The result was that Dr. Bentley's conclusions have been found to be correct. The Parsee community is obliged to the Doctor and others who took trouble in this matter, which has been for the good of the community.

Now, what is the reason of the fever being so largely prevalent amongst us? The wells in our houses seem to be the cause. Many wells of our cities breed larvæ of certain kinds of mosquitoes which bite human beings and thus give fever, and thus the fever spreads. We must help the health authorities in filling up those wells which breed such larvæ. Objections are raised that waters of such wells are useful for religious ceremonies. Now, we must use our common sense that religion is for the good of human beings. Our religion teaches us to use well-water for the reason that probably there are pure springs in wells, and that those springs keep the well-water purer than those having no springs. But this does not prove that the waters of all wells are pure and that we must all use such water.

The question here is purity and purity alone, and that good water should be used. It is not that well-water, however bad it may be owing to contamination with sewage or breeding larvæ of mosquitoes, should be used. Of course, if your well-waters are clean and potable, and if the wells contain good springs, by all means use them. The municipality does not force you to close such wells. But to use the water of a well which is dirty, in spite of clean pipe-water available, for the sake of its being well-water, is against the teachings of our religion. Such preachers bring our religion and our community into contempt in the eyes of others.

The custom of eating animal food and the destruction of harmful animals.

The question of eating meat, as Occidentals view it, has nothing ritualistic and ceremonial about it; it is a purely physiological problem. Does eating meat make us more efficient, more capable of serving humanity? We have a few vegetarians; but our medical men, while advising moderation and discrimination, generally recommend the use of meat diet, for us and in our climate; and they give their reasons. Protein, fat, and carbohydrates are found, of course, in vegetable foods; but in meats some of the essential factors are found in a more agreeable and easily digestible form. Therefore, our moral and religious beliefs leave this question aside, on the condition of wise and temperate use. If any one dislikes animal food, for any reason, he is free to follow his conscience or his taste. The direction of a competent physician usually determines duty in a particular case.

The charge of cruelty to animals involved in a meat diet may justly be urged against some methods of killing hogs, cattle and sheep, and other food animals; but suffering may be avoided by proper precautions, and our humane societies have been quite successful in shaping and enforcing laws to this end.

It is impossible in any country to avoid destroying animal life for the sake of human life. Tigers, lions,

venomous serpents, rats, and vermin must be wiped out of existence to preserve mankind; and this view must in the end prevail. When it comes to a question whether the human race or rats shall possess this earth, reason speaks in favour of the human race.

I shall have time only to indicate some of the aims of modern public hygiene in relation to the depressed and industrial groups in Western lands, and especially: 1. the Infant Welfare Movement; 2. the improvement of dwellings of people in industrial communities; 3. other problems of urban hygiene; 4. hygiene of the workplace and the workers; 5. moral hygiene.

I must ask you to be patient with some details of concrete requirements. The moral law never grips the conscience, until it is applied to actual life, and life is something infinitely varied. "Thou shalt do no murder" is a very solemn law, and communities violate it, constantly and without protest, because of wicked ignorance.

The great sculptor Michael Angelo said: "Perfection is made up of trifles, but perfection is not a trifle". The obligations of a community to its members are as numerous as the requirements of abundant life.

Carlyle tells the story of a woman who, neglected by her city, proved she was a sister to them by infecting many persons with fever. John Howard found that public neglect of jails in England permitted "jail fever" to germinate and spread, until it killed sheriffs, visitors, jurymen and judges. Disease is terribly democratic; it is no respecter of persons. The poor seamstress sends germs of disease with the fine garment to destroy the first-born in the mansion of the millionaire. We are never safe, until we help our brother to be safe. A good illustration is the "hook-worm disease".¹

¹ *Journ. Am. Med. Assn.*, June 22, 1912, pp. 1945-7. Also June 15, 1902, p. 1837.

In at least 46 countries, with population of 920,000,000 this disease is general and widespread. In the United States 20,000,000 are in infected areas (South Caroline, Virginia, North Caroline, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee). In the southern two-thirds of China 75% of the population is infected; in India 60 to 80% are exposed.

"The economic loss from the disease is enormous. A physically sound coffee-picker in Porto Rico picks 500 or 600 measures a day; the anæmic picker averages from 100 to 250 measures. This disease has lowered the average labour efficiency of the island to 35% or 50% of the normal." There is 20% loss in miners of California; a mine employing 300 men would sustain a loss of \$ 20,000 annually.

What must be the loss to India with 70% infected! "What the disease has done for India, Egypt, and China, it is now beginning to do for the United States. It is a menace and an obstacle to all that makes for civilization. It destroys economic efficiency and social development on the one hand, as it undermines physical and mental health on the other."

"Last year at San Francisco a shipload of Indian coolies had 90% infected. Quarantine was established at once against any further immigration of this type. Every group of Indian coolies in California is a centre from which the infection is spreading in that state. . . . It is of international significance, and the measures directed toward its complete eradication must be international in scope." This disease has become such a menace to the wealth and welfare of our people that Mr. John D. Rockefeller gave a fund of \$1,000,000 to investigate its nature and causes and for measures to reduce and suppress it.

Public hygiene is a problem of international duty. For hundreds of years plagues of oriental origin have travelled westward along the lines of commerce, or re-

ligious pilgrimage, or march of armies, and devastated the nations of Europe. The bubonic plague of India is of vital concern to us in America and our men of science and law are devising methods of self-protection. Is it too much to ask of educated men in India that they co-operate with us, in brotherly spirit, in the effort to destroy these enemies of mankind? It is in such practical deeds, rather than in mere poetical and rhetorical panegyrics of fraternity, that genuine and sincere union of purpose is demonstrated.

I. Infant Welfare.

It is impossible to analyse all the motives which enter into the movement to protect infant life in the Western World. This movement is, as yet, by no means at the stage of triumph. Its representatives are still in battle with evil, and the conflict is severe, though the result becomes every year more hopeful. Commercial motives, no doubt, enter into our calculations, as one can see from the arguments drawn from the average dollar value of each human life. The natural animal instinct of tenderness for helpless offspring, which in human parents has been glorified by higher elements, plays an important rôle; and to this appeal can always be made. To all this may be added the teachings of Him who called little children to His arms for a blessing and who said, "Suffer the little ones to come to me". "It is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones perish."

The history of Church charity shows that the custom of the ancient Greek, Roman, and Teutonic world, of exposing unwanted infants to death, was regarded with horror by the Christians, and measures were from the first taken to shelter and rear even the abandoned offspring of shameful and unlawful unions. In this the traditions and feelings of the Hebrew people played a great part, for in that people children were highly cherished. One

thing is certain; the whole Western World is organizing to prevent infant sickness and death; that world cannot stand with folded hands and averted face, while the innocent perish in their helplessness.

Swiftly let us outline the programme of this campaign of mercy led by modern science,—always remembering that every step we take forward in the right direction reveals to us better and more efficient methods and opens to us more inspiring hopes. Faith which works by love and wisdom grows strong by exercise. Into technical details we cannot enter, for they must be sought in the scientific treatises to which reference is given in the bibliography.

In the spring and summer of 1911, I visited important cities of Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium to examine the best methods employed for preventing the sickness, weakness, and death of infants, and was everywhere afforded all facilities for the study. This was a continuation of similar observations, readings, and interviews in previous years.¹ Reviewing the works and publications of the leading physicians, philanthropists and governments, the following measures seem to meet with the approval of the majority of experts in Europe and America:

1. There are certain general causes of infant debility and disease which can be and ought to be reduced and ultimately removed, since they are well within the control of human wisdom and effort. These are: unwholesome conditions in the dwellings of the poor, impure water and milk, venereal diseases, and inadequate income with which to provide for the necessities of life.

2. The second part of the European and American programme for the protection of infant life is the protection of mothers. That also is possible in far higher degree

¹ The studies following this journey were published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, 1911-1912.

than we have yet realized. Long before birth and for two years afterwards the infant depends on the mother for life and force. All that affects the vitality of the mother has more or less influence on the growth of the babe. More specifically we can extend, develop, and improve the following practical measures, which are already carried quite far in one country or another:

a) "Factory laws", with an efficient and well-paid body of trained inspectors to see that they are enforced, in response to a general and enlightened public opinion. These laws and the administrative regulations under them relate to the physical condition of the places where wage-earning women are obliged to toil, to the hours during which they can be held to their tasks for pay, and to the terms on which they may be permitted to turn home into a place of manufacture. There was a time in the Occident when all such legislation was regarded as a violation of individual rights,—the right of the employer to do as he pleased in his shop, and the right of the employé to make a free contract, even to bargain away life itself. Gradually, a different philosophy has taken possession of the Western mind, and men have come to believe that the individual point of view is untenable, partial, deceptive; that all acts, customs, and laws must be viewed from their tendency in relation to the general welfare; and that both employer and employé are bound morally and must be held legally to act in a way which is consistent with the common good. In this particular class, the working mothers, the social interest in the health of the rising generation is too evident and palpable to ignore, and our laws are constantly revised to conform to this more recent social doctrine.¹ In this connection, we should remember that the postponement of

¹ J. GOLDMARK, *Fatigue and Efficiency* (1912). Mr. BRANDEIS' argument (brief) in the Oregon Laundry Case.

MTS. FLORENCE KELLEY, *Ethical Gains through Legislation*.

marriage until the mother is physically and mentally mature and fit to bear and rear strong children, is a result of the same convictions of social duty.

b) Assurance of income to poor working mothers is an essential element in this programme; because it is clear that for one whose very existence depends on daily wages, when income ceases, life is in jeopardy; and that a woman thus driven by the wolf of necessity will work too near the birth of her babe and too soon thereafter, unless the income is assured. There are three methods for continuing this income, so that the expectant mother and the nursing mother will be able to follow her physician's advice: charity, mutual benefit associations, and obligatory sickness and maternity insurance under State regulation, as in Germany. Charity, whether public or private, is both uncertain and degrading; the mutual benefit clubs are far better, but few and difficult to organize and maintain. The leaders of reform see in the sickness and maternity insurance legislation the only promise of the day, when the mother who performs an essential public service shall not be left to her own resources in her hour of trial and be compelled to starve the babe she has given to the world. Chivalry, reverence for motherhood, patriotism, and religion join in this holy crusade, and already beautiful works of philanthropy and hopeful beginnings of legislation betoken the dawn of a better day. This particular problem is connected vitally with others which remain to be discussed.

c) The health, vigour, vitality of the infant depend on the skill of the physician or midwife who attends the mother in the hours of her trial and delivery. Therefore, in all lands of the Occident the standard is being raised for the professional training of these useful and necessary guardians of the entrance upon life. This is an example of the universal tendency, in countries of free and ob-

ligatory school attendance, to make the requirements for professional service more exacting. As the people everywhere are taught the essential facts of modern science, they are more dissatisfied with ignorant quacks and imposters.

d) The care of poor women and babes in the home is a part of our programme. Those who have good income and are intelligent are sure to provide all that money can buy and love can give to the mother and babe; and this we desire for those who are less favourably situated. Hence we observe in all countries the increasing effort to send into the homes of the poor, nurses and domestic assistants during the days when the woman cannot rise without injury to keep the house tidy, to dress the children, to cook the food, and see that the household is made as attractive and wholesome as possible. In the future, we may find a way to furnish such help without charity, by increasing wages and by insurance funds; but in the meantime public relief and private charity step in, when the means of the family are insufficient.

e) Not all mothers can be sheltered in the period of maternity in their own homes; some must find refuge in institutions. Thus the poor women whose dwellings are crowded, whose husbands are drunken or abusive, whose health is infirm, who need for weeks or months skilful nursing and medical attention, — all such should be placed in institutions where their wants can be supplied.

And there are, alas! the unmarried mothers, those weak-minded, irresponsible, misguided girls who are compelled to fly from their employers, their relatives, their own parents and hide their shame in some institution of public or private mercy. If they are deserted by charity, they are sorely tempted to abortion, infanticide, and then to prostitution. Mother and offspring belong together, and often the maternal instinct is awakened by the cry and need of the infant and redeems the woman.

3. The direct protection and care of infants outside of institutions.

a) Protection of legal rights of infants. In the English law the parents of legitimate children are held to the duty of protection, maintenance, and education of their children, and the standard of such care is steadily advancing with increasing knowledge and popularization of science. Wilful neglect, cruelty, or abuse may be punished under the criminal statutes; and, generally, a child may be removed from the custody of unfit parents and placed where its life, integrity, and character are more secure.

If the parents are too poor to perform these primary duties properly, a public poor fund is provided by taxation, and this is frequently supplemented or supplanted by private charity. In the most advanced commonwealths poverty is not a reason for permitting a woman to leave her young children to go out to earn a livelihood. It is believed that a mother cannot render to society a better return for her support than a proper care of her own offspring; and that it is far better to pay her wages for this task than for scrubbing floors, washing windows, or weaving cloth. Enough labour can be found for such common work, while for the sacred and precious duty of mothering a spirit in the infant's fragile body not even an angel from heaven would do so well as a plain, simple, honest, affectionate woman. Thus our Western laws assume that the care of infancy by the parents is the normal and usual mode of protecting and rearing the young.

But, alas! There are only too many abnormal and unusual situations, where infants are deprived of parental and even of maternal solace. The most tragic and sad examples are the offspring of illegitimate and immoral sexual unions; but there are also a certain number of babies deserted by married people; and of some the mothers die; and there are some morally unfit or desperately weak and destitute of resources.

In such cases, the progressive states stand in the place of the parents and make legal provision for the appointment of guardians, individual or professional, to represent the legal rights of the infant and see that they are enforced.

b) In many of our great towns the infants exposed to physical perils are supervised by medical men assisted by trained nurses and visitors. A complete register is kept of every birth, and in all cases where the life of the babe is in jeopardy, it comes immediately and continuously under the expert control of the medical authorities and their assistants. The mothers or foster-nurses are instructed and visits are made to the homes to see that the directions are faithfully carried out. Under this system the rate of mortality has been quickly and greatly reduced; and thus it is demonstrated that mortality is not due to evil charms, magic, astral influences, or fate, but to definite causes in feeding and care, which can be discovered and diminished by suitable measures.

c) The chief social causes of infant mortality are maternal ignorance, neglect, and poverty; because the physical causes may be removed or diminished by intelligent and faithful use of proper means.

Hence the "consultations" for mothers and nurslings have rapidly been established, beginning in France with Dr. Budin only a few years ago. The essential features in these famous "consultations" are: the physician who knows and loves, the scales for weighing the baby to show its growth or decline, the card for recording the observation and directions of the doctor; the presence of the mother with her baby for observation and instruction; and a corps of trained women to follow up the interview with frequent visits in the homes to see that wise advice is carried into practice.

In the directions given, the physician, with the baby lying on his knees, teaches the poor and ignorant mother

her high and holy duties, not in vague phrases, but in simple, practical directions which she can understand. With the chart of weights before her eyes, week by week she has a visible proof of the wisdom of the scientific advice received.

d) In these consultations the first place is given to breast-feeding, and in this art mothers are taught and encouraged with the authority which scientific physicians everywhere enjoy with the people.

Only in the exceptional cases of necessity does the doctor advise feeding cow's milk or some other substitute for the natural food of a human infant. The consultations have been aptly called "Schools for mothers". In many cities of Europe mothers are encouraged by premiums to nurse their own infants. "Schools for little mothers" have been introduced for the purpose of showing girls how to help their mothers bathe and dress infants; so that when they grow up and have children of their own, they will begin with a good store of knowledge.

e) In our great cities it is difficult to procure pure milk for infants and young children. In the stables, on the dairy farms, during the process of transportation and delivery, the milk is exposed to contamination. The microscopic bacteria, which multiply in milk so rapidly and are so poisonous in the digestive organs, are the foes of childhood. City governments have called to their aid the learning and skill of the bacteriologists and physicians, and the authority of legislatures to guard this precious material of nutrition from the source to the homes where it is consumed. Charity and science have followed it even into the homes to make sure that the vessels in which it is kept and conveyed to the lips of the tender child, are clean and wholesome, and that the quantities taken and the intervals of feeding are such as are approved by the medical profession. Where parents are too poor to pay for the milk, public relief and private charity often furnish the payments.

4. More briefly, I must barely mention, for the sake of completeness of analysis, the various institutions which supplement home-care:

a) The day nursery (*crèche*), where working mothers may safely leave their little ones while they toil for wages;

b) the infant hospitals, where the sick babies are taken for treatment when they cannot so well be helped in the crowded and unwholesome dwelling of the poor;

c) the asylums and foundling homes where, at least temporarily, little children may be taken, until a family home can be found.

5. Attention is also directed to educational problems: the better and more general training of young physicians in the care and feeding and medical treatment of infants; the training of midwives and nurses; and the diffusion of knowledge of the subject among the people.

6. Organizations for promoting these ideas and principles are now found in many municipal and state associations; and an international League¹ exists which invites the peoples of the world to co-operate in this holy crusade against ignorance, superstition, error, neglect, and cruelty, and on behalf of infancy whose sufferings are so pathetic, whose smile and laughter are so winsome.

The noblest picture in the world, most perfect in composition, colour, and atmosphere, many of us think, is the *Mother and Child* painted by Raphael, kept as in a sanctuary in the gallery at Dresden, a symbol at once of holy motherhood and of the union of God and man, of earth and heaven.

SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAMME

Our responsibility is enhanced by the fact that we can no longer plead ignorance of the means of reducing

¹ DR. EUGÈNE LUST, Secretary, Brussels, Belgium.

infant mortality. It is moral lethargy, cruelty, selfishness, wicked fatalism, if we permit needless sickness, pain, sorrow, and death. The world now has the knowledge and the demonstration. Thus the medical officer in Oldham, England, has published the results of instruction of mothers in the art of feeding and care of their infants. He compared the death-rate during the years 1896–1901, when there were no women-instructors for mothers, with the years 1902–1907, after systematic instruction was given, and the decrease was on the average 16·1%; and after 1908, when the compulsory reporting of births was introduced, the rate fell still lower,—110·4 per 1000 births, as compared with 158·6 for the six years of 1896–1901.

II. *Dwellings.*

Movement to improve living conditions of dwellings, especially of the poor in great cities. Our experience in the urban centres of Europe and America will be helpful to you, now that the great industry and commerce begin to crowd Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta with low-paid wage-earners.

1. The need. The social obligation to intervene in the regulation of habitations of men is based on the value to the community of the health of the people and on the inability of the individual to protect himself. The poor man is subject to the will of his landlord, and fears to be ejected if he complains. The most intelligent families, who keep their dwellings immaculately clean, may be surrounded by close neighbours who violate the rules of hygiene. Thus it is manifest that the community must co-operate to secure wholesome conditions.

2. Elements in the programme of securing hygienic habitations. First of all, the plan of the city, the arrangements, directions, and width of streets determine some of the factors. Few cities and towns have been deliberately

planned from the beginning in view of modern requirements of health, and now they must be gradually rebuilt at enormous cost in order to protect life. The width of streets determines the amount of light and air which may be enjoyed by the people.* The drainage and sewage of the city become matters of supreme interest, and they must be provided for as the area is built over. For every human being, man, woman, child,—there must be so much open space accessible for recreation, for outdoor life, for social converse, and music.

The local or general government must work out, publish, and enforce a minimum standard for the structure of habitations, and this standard must include all that is necessary for health and safety in accordance with the teachings of modern science: light, ventilation, cleanliness, separation of the sexes, privacy, opportunity for bathing, and open space near the home for little children. The structure and materials should afford security against loss of life from fire. This standard should be enforced in accordance with a building code published for the information of landlords and tenants. Old buildings, which are not yet decayed beyond repair, may be transformed to comply fairly well with the standard code, and the regulations enforced by inspectors. Space, cleanliness, and decency may thus be made possible. Women of vicious habits may be driven out of composite dwellings where their presence and practices are corrupting to youth. Hopelessly bad dwellings, too bad for repair, may be condemned. Landlords, when they are not permitted by the police to derive rent from the tumble-down houses, will be forced to destroy and build better houses in order to derive revenue from them. In granting permits for the erection of new dwellings the city officials may enforce a higher standard in accordance with building codes which embody the teachings of hygiene and the wisdom of architects. But the require-

ments must not ignore the economic limits. A "model plan" for a house must be one which does not cost so much that the wage-earner cannot afford to pay rent. Provision for suitable habitations is closely connected, in large cities, with the question of cheap and rapid transportation. If working-men can live at a distance, they can secure more room and comfort than in the centres of crowded population, where rents are high. But if the means of transportation are costly and slow, many labourers must be content to huddle together in miserable quarters, where light, ventilation, and cleanliness are denied them.

Many great corporations in Europe and America have built towns in the suburbs of great cities, where each family may have its own cottage, with a garden. Thus some of the advantages of both urban and rural life may be enjoyed by the workers and their families.

Private philanthropy has pioneered the way by making investigations and trying experiments with model villages.

Both in crowded cities and in more spacious grounds of suburbs, the building and loan associations and co-operative building societies in Europe and America have made it possible for many working-men to house their families in decent [modest] homes of their own. These societies are encouraged and even helped by the State, and aided by rich patrons; but their principal success is due to the spirit of fraternal co-operation for mutual aid. When the self-interest of investors and manufacturers and the efforts of private philanthropists, and sanitary regulations have all failed, some municipalities have gone further, have condemned ruinous property or bought it up, and have constructed modest but decent dwellings for the industrial families,—as in Liverpool. German cities, as Frankfort o.M., have bought large tracts of land and laid out streets on such a wise and generous plan as to protect the people for generations to come.

III. *School Hygiene.*

The principle of universal, gratuitous and obligatory attendance at school is already the accepted doctrine of national duty in the Western World; and rapid advance is seen in making practice conform to the ideal. This brings with it a portentous danger to public health, because multitudes of children must be crowded into large buildings, where light and ventilation are difficult to secure, and where communicable diseases are easily diffused. On the other hand, there are great advantages from the standpoint of scientific administration of departments of health; for, practically all the children are at once brought under direct control of representatives of medical science, and they are taught and trained in the art of preventing disease. The public policy of school hygiene includes, among other things, the scientific construction of buildings; the systematic inspection of all children; the medical control, by physicians and nurses, of all pupils in school; medical and surgical care of all pupils who are feeble, sick, or abnormal; feeding of those not properly nourished, either at home or at the school itself; special rooms or institutions for the tuberculous, crippled, deaf, or blind, where each can receive the special treatment required.

IV. *Urban Hygiene.*

What has been said of the hygiene of infancy and of dwellings need not be repeated here, and we may proceed to illustrate the policies of progressive European and American cities in respect to several other matters of moment to the entire population.

1. The water-supply is everywhere a subject of anxious concern. Formerly it was enough if, in regions of scattered population, each family dug its own well or controlled a natural spring. But in large towns, the soil

itself becomes poisonous, and the community must co-operate on a grand scale. The precious fluid must be conveyed from pure mountain-lakes by a costly system of tubes and aqueducts. These lakes must be policed to protect them against contamination. Or, water of rivers must be purified by physical, chemical, or biological means, so as to remove the germs of disease and other impurities. Such a system implies the co-operation of men of various scientific disciplines with managers of finance, engineers, and legislators. It would be easy to show what this implies for higher ideals, wider co-operation, and general intelligence.

2. Sewage disposal has come to be a social problem of the first magnitude in cities of the West. We have not yet learned to utilize organic waste so that the streams and lakes shall not be contaminated and so that elements of fertility may be restored to the soil. Probably, all the methods now in use will be superseded within a few decades by something which is at once economical and effective. In this matter, the Western Nations may have something to learn from the oriental farmers in respect to conservancy and the utilization of the organic waste of cities, while all nations have much yet to learn from science about prevention of disease from the diffusion of dangerous bacteria in the soil.

3. How certain diseases are kept alive and communicated. In the case of typhoid fever, the sufferer is the source of germs which cause the disease, which multiply in the intestines, and by various routes are carried by water, milk, utensils, and touch to the mouths of others. The only way to prevent the communication of the disease is to destroy the germs which come from the body, by chemical means, or boiling or burning, before they can reach others.

Tuberculosis is conveyed chiefly through the air, or by articles containing the sputa of the patient; and therefore,

to protect the family, the neighbours, and the public the diseased person must be isolated and the sputa destroyed.

In the case of scarlet fever—since the germs (yet unknown) are scattered in the air from the patient,—the patient should be isolated for a certain period and the bedding, clothing, and furniture thoroughly disinfected at the end.

Diphtheria is communicated through the air, and isolation is necessary.

For the loathsome small-pox there is no longer any excuse. If we could persuade or compel all the people to be vaccinated, this terrible disease would soon disappear. Once it was the terror of our cities; now it is rare and is confined to a few careless and ignorant people who neglect their duty to their fellow-men and expose them to danger.

Insects are now recognized as carriers of some diseases; and this discovery promises to put an end to some of the most dangerous foes of mankind. Certain species of mosquitoes having been convicted of the high crime of inoculating human beings with malaria, it has been agreed to inflict capital punishment upon all their tribe.

The common house-fly has also been marked as a foe of health, because he is unclean and his feet convey the germs of disease from the culture-grounds of filth to the lips of the innocent and unsuspecting; and now his doom is writ and the nation rises in wrath with besom, traps, and deadly potions to sweep the whole race from the earth.

The management of communicable diseases in cities. In a study of this subject by the city of Milwaukee, the following requirements were made by the experts employed to make recommendations; and they probably represent the conclusions of recent authorities: "Granting that physicians report all cases of communicable disease,

the Health Department should control them by the following agencies:

1. Through an expert epidemiologist, who shall study every case thoroughly to discover, if possible, the source of the disease, and who shall conduct the entire administration of the division.

2. Through quarantine and isolation of the patient (hospital, if necessary).

3. Through constant inspection of quarantined quarters and rigid enforcement of quarantine.

4. Through a bacteriologist, who shall assist in making diagnoses and in determining the period of quarantine or isolation in certain diseases.

5. Through inspection by Health Department physicians before releasing from quarantine.

6. Through disinfection.

7. Through education of the people as to the prevention of disease and the protection of others."

V. Shop or Industrial Hygiene.

We have followed the wage-earner through the perils of infancy and school life, and the exposure to danger in house, street, and public places, and we have seen that the Western World is aroused, armed, and drilled to conquer the causes of weakness and death. We must now enter the workshop itself and confront those dangers to physical integrity and vigour which are peculiar to the place where industry is active, where the wage-earner wins his daily bread by constant toil. It is a part of the situation that the workman does not own nor control the building in which he sells his bodily forces, nor the hours he must labour, nor the air he breathes. All this is under the mastery of the manager and capitalist who hires him and rules him. Very often, neither the workman nor his master is aware of the dangers or, if he knows them, he is not aware of

any way of escape from the injuries which constantly come to the workers. For these reasons, all advanced European and American governments have interfered in the management of mines, railways, steel mills, textile factories, and mercantile establishments, so far at least as to establish regulations whose purpose is to protect the safety, health, and comfort of their laborious citizens. What the individual alone is powerless to accomplish, is made easy when the State, acting for us all, establishes a rule. These regulations occupy many large volumes, and their discussion has produced a vast library of pamphlets and books. Obviously, we must here limit our treatment to a few typical illustrations of the chief principles in a social policy which was developed in the nineteenth century, and is constantly improved.

Prevention of accidents. Physical integrity is jeopardized in many ways by machinery, which has steadily become more ponderous, swift in motion, and intricate in structure. Steam and electricity are good servants, but bad masters.

Beneficent the might of flame
When 'tis by men watched o'er, made tame;
For to this heavenly power he owes
All his creative genius knows;

But terrible this power may be
When from its fetters it breaks free;
Treads its own path with passions wild,
Like nature's free and reckless child.

By the study of experience in various occupations the modern legislators have been enabled to draw up a code of regulations which cover many of the situations which are fraught with menace to the workers. In the great industrial museums of Paris, Zurich, Berlin, and elsewhere the latest and most approved devices are exhibited: guards for parts of machinery which are likely to cut, tear, or

bruise the hands, or catch the garments and drag the body into the swift and powerful machines.

Prevention of occupational diseases. 1. Among the chief causes of ill-health or death found in work-places we may select for mention and illustration: poisons, foul air, dust, compressed air, cramped positions, jars and vibration.¹

2. Legal requirements for protection. The law follows obedient in the path marked out by medical science as the path of social duty. It is specific in its demands at every point where the health of the workmen is at stake. To remove foul air, poisonous vapours, and irritating dust, the best legislation and administrative regulations require devices for ventilation which conform to the standards evolved by trial and experiment. To avoid the conveyance of poison, as lead, from the painted surface or the materials used in manufacture, to the interior of the body by the mouth or skin, the means of cleanliness of body and clothing must be provided by the employers. In some cases the use of poisonous substances is legally forbidden or restricted. Thus, legislation prohibits the use of poisonous forms of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, and restricts the use of white lead for painting the inside of houses. Since women and children are peculiarly susceptible to some kinds of poisons, as white lead, the best laws forbid employers to set them to

¹ *Cost of miners' nystagmus.* (*Jour. Amer. Med. Assoc.*, Aug. 17, 1912, p. 547-8.)—In the United Kingdom in 1910 there were 1618 cases of miners' nystagmus; the indemnity paid under the compensation law was \$ 155,000 (about £ 31,000), beside loss of production. "Among miners nystagmus is an occupational neurosis characterized by an involuntary oscil-

lation of the eye-bulbs on fixation. It prevents the miner from accurately fixing anything toward which his vision is directed." The remedies proposed are prohibition of work in coal mines to men who show certain errors of refraction upon optical examination; improvements in lighting and ventilation.

work in places where they can come in contact with these substances. The control of tuberculosis by an expert organization, the Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago, will illustrate the methods used, with the help of employers. The principle of periodic examination and timely repair is at the basis of this system. The efficiency of the worker, his power to produce commodities, and earn his own income and support his family, depend on steady and abounding health. Periodic medical examinations make timely action possible; every hour lost makes recovery more uncertain or slow. Tuberculosis, if neglected, passes beyond the curable stage before it attracts attention. If it runs on into the "open" stage, it infects others in home and shop. A physician examines all suspicious cases, instructs the patients how to live, advises the men in the shop by lectures and printed instructions, and gives directions to the nurses. The trained nurses assist the physician during clinic hours, visit and study the homes and living conditions of employes pronounced "tuberculous" or "predisposed", instructs the family in the rules of hygienic living, and furnishes information for guidance in each particular case. A tuberculosis clinic is established in the premises of a large corporation or in the neighbourhood of industrial families. Each individual case is classified, *a)* according to diagnosis: "tuberculous" or "non-tuberculous", "active" or "non-active", "open" or "closed"; *b)* according to necessity of change of occupation or discontinuance of work; *c)* according to need of hospital, sanatorium or home treatment. Supervision of all cases is continued to secure a cure and to protect other persons from infection. This plan requires money for hospitals, sanatoria, physicians, nurses, food, support of family while the wage-earner is forced to be idle to effect a cure. For these financial means we have public institutions maintained by gifts and endowments of a charitable nature, gifts of

employers, and, best of all, sickness and invalid insurance, which is not so well developed in America as in Germany and Great Britain. Insurance provides a fund to which the workman has a rightful claim; while reliance on charity is humiliating and depressing.

Fatigue, it has been discovered, so depresses the bodily system as to render it more open to attacks of disease. There is for each category of workers a limit of energy; when that limit is passed, it is at the expense of vitality, and with risk to life. Scientific investigation and records of efficiency have already established the limits of maximum efficiency in many trades, and within a few years, we have reason to believe, this study will carry us much further. It is on the basis of this knowledge that we establish our laws limiting the hours of labour and securing periodically days of rest,—first for children, then for women, then for men.

Administration. Laws of states are too general for minute application and they have no power to enforce themselves. There must be administrative agents to make special regulations for particular trades, to issue orders, and to see that the laws and regulations are faithfully enforced and the intention of society is realized. As many of the safety devices and measures of protection cost the employer money, and as some of them are inconvenient for the workmen, inspectors must be appointed by the government to protect the workmen against the avarice of the masters and the ignorance of those directly affected, and to see that the law is enforced. The selection, training, and discipline of these inspectors and administrative agents has come to be a vital question of state governments.

Necessity of education. In all matters of public health, the education of the individual is an essential factor. The wisest laws and the most competent inspectors will be defeated, if the workmen and the public are not taught to

co-operate. The human factor cannot with safety be ignored. Children must be taught in schools, workmen must be instructed by placards and bulletins, classes must be formed to have ocular demonstration of the principles involved, expositions of anatomy, physiology, hygiene, sanitation and safety devices must be erected and maintained, in order that men may walk in the midst of the unseen dangers without harm. Health and sound limbs cannot be received as a gift; they must be achieved by personal intelligence, wisdom, and attention.

Some of the diseases of working-men, as well as others, are due to vice, to sensual and lawless indulgence of natural or acquired appetites. Self-control, mastery of the body by the spirit under social law of general welfare, is a slow and painful achievement. Vice is due in part to physical appetite, partly to ignorance, partly to debased beliefs, partly to wrong social customs and laws. In the shame and loss all the world must confess more or less of guilty participation; in the noble, persistent, courageous, and high-minded combat with these evils all the worthiest and loftiest spirits are fellow-soldiers. In the Western World our societies of temperance and social purity, instructed by leaders of medical science, inspired by pure women, poets, preachers, sustained by the holy example and divine teaching of the Founder of Christianity, have made their appeal to the common sense, the chivalry, the prudence, the patriotism, and the faith of men; and by no means in vain. Before us stretches a long and rugged journey yet to be travelled, but it is illumined even to its triumphant end by the heavenly light of hope, by the cheering memory of victories over evil already won.

VI. *Rural Hygiene.*

Apparently, the cities have profited more by the discoveries of science than the agricultural districts, and show

a more rapid reduction of the death-rate. In cities, the administration can more quickly control the conduct of large numbers of persons by police measures and inspection; and farmers are proverbially slower to learn and adopt new ideas. But of recent years, we have witnessed a marked increase of attention to rural hygiene. Perhaps this is partly due to the discovery that the milk, meat, and vegetables sold in cities may be tainted and made injurious to health from the ignorance and neglect of sanitary conditions in dairies, herds, and in preparation of vegetables and fruits for markets. Milk which comes from unclean vessels, and may be watered from foul wells, destroys the little ones in cities and arouses urban interest in rural hygiene. But for their own sake our citizens on the farms are worthy of consideration by the authorities which conduct the Health Departments of the states and nations; and with the extension of schools and wider circulation of newspapers, magazines, and governmental bulletins public opinion becomes more intolerant toward injurious habits and customs.

It is true that the conditions of life in India and China are very different from those in Germany, England, or Canada; and our methods are by no means capable of direct transportation. Each country must develop its own system of regulations. The diseases due to climate, or to peculiar micro-organisms, differ. But there are some principles of common interest, and the movements which have for their purpose the promotion of physical well-being must have something of kinship in all parts of the world. In all members of the human race certain conditions predispose to disease, certain mineral and organic substances poison the body, and certain bacteria set up morbid states which may end in death. Therefore, heroic effort and hopeful success in one region should inspire effort and hope in the most distant parts of the world. The wisest and

best directed movements for rural health aim to achieve the following results: 1. To make the youth and all the people familiar with the causes of ill-health and low vitality, that they may be on their guard; as: dust, bacteria in milk, water, air, clothing, poisons, strain, neglect of personal and domestic hygiene. 2. To educate youth and all the people in the methods of maintaining health by proper habits. 3. To organize laws and administration for securing conditions of physical well-being which depend upon action by authority, as in matters of roads, drains, sewage systems, inspection of diseased animals, erection and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, and supply of nurses.

The influence of modern science has made itself felt in the national and state legislation directed to the eradication of tuberculosis, trichinosis, and other maladies which may be communicated from animals to men. In this work several interests agree: that of the farmer whose herds may be destroyed, while his own life is in danger, and that of the consumers who require protection. In Denmark, the government aids the cattle-raisers by providing veterinary inspectors, by guarding the frontier and by compensating in part the farmer whose affected cattle must be slaughtered. The tuberculin test is applied to discover the diseased cattle, so that they may be excluded from contact with sound cattle.

The principle of progressive legislation relating to food products of rural industry is thus stated by Hall and Pickering, in their work on the *Law of Food Condemnation* (cited by H. W. Wiley in *Bailey's Cyclopædia of American Agriculture*):

The vender of poisonous or unwholesome meat has never enjoyed complete immunity. It was regarded as an offence punishable at common law to sell for human consumption poisonous or unsound meat. The evidence of the unwholesome qualities of the food usually relied on in behalf of a prosecution under the common law were the

symptoms subsequently exhibited by the consumer. The action of the common law was, therefore, somewhat tardy. It was necessarily retrospective and retributive; modern statutory enactments strive to be anticipatory and protective.

VII. *The steps of progress in public hygiene.*

Dr. W. B. Evans, an eminent sanitarian, has said:

"Each of these steps has represented a change for the better. Society started with the idea of demons, divine wrath, rewards, and punishments as the causes of contagion. The way epidemics devastated and desolated was suggestive of punishment. The people bowed before it, helpless; so the first stage—indifference—gave way to the second—fatalism.

Next came prayers and sacrifice, a distinct advance in that it implied action.

Next came the filth theory, an enormous advance, in that it meant an acceptance of responsibility. The cause was oftentimes in filth. The theory got things cleaned up—an enormous advance. Day was breaking, but the sun was not up.

Next came bacteriology; the seed was found, the sun was up. But still there was too much to watch; information was too general. So there came the last step—epidemiology."

".... We succeeded in controlling some diseases, but many an epidemic burned on, until the available material had burned out." The best measures are those which take hold just where the cause exists. "Take the history of yellow fever in New Orleans. See how the campaign against it increased in efficiency, as it shrank from an embargo on everything to an embargo on mosquitoes. See how plague dwindled, as attention was concentrated from all things to fleas. See how small-pox came in leash, as we progressed from filth to vaccination. . . .

Now we know that we must *watch people rather than things*, and not all the people at that—merely those who have been in contact with cases of contagion—contacts, cases, and carriers. All effort is now concentrated on these.” This policy is now applied to consumptives; they are selected, isolated, often cured, and in the worst situation do not spread the great White Plague in the community.

VICTORIES OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

In 1885, in Paris, the Pasteur treatment for Rabies was first tried on man. In 1889, the Ninth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography was held in Paris, and the claims of Pasteur were authoritatively confirmed. After that, Americans began to visit Paris, and Frenchmen left Paris with the same end in view; namely, to establish new Pasteur Institutes. There are now Pasteur Institutes in twenty-three states, where the anti-rabic remedy is prepared and administered. Since 1908, the Hygienic Laboratory of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service has supplied the anti-rabic virus to twenty-two State Boards of Health, and has demonstrated that the remedy can be transmitted by mail; so that it is not necessary to make long journeys, as patients formerly had to do, in order to receive the treatment. In 1890, Prof. von Behring, of Marburg, announced that he had learned how to render animals immune to diphtheria. He was able, soon after, to immunize children in the same way. In 1894, two or three Americans, attending the Tenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, at Budapest, heard the memorable report of Prof. Emile Roux, of Paris, proving that von Behring had, indeed, provided an immunization against diphtheria. The American delegates came home with great news. In 1895, a little antitoxin, very expensive, came over from Germany and France. The Massachusetts Board of Health and the Health Department of New York City soon began to

make antitoxin for the use of local physicians. Antitoxin laboratories were established by several pharmaceutical firms. The Census Report for 1900 showed that the diphtheria mortality of the Registration Area had fallen from 97·75 to 48·2 per 100,000 between 1890 and 1900; though the supply of antitoxin was yet inadequate, it was still expensive, and many physicians were not convinced of its value. The Census Report for 1910 shows a further decline to 21·4 per 100,000. According to these figures, 46,000 lives were saved in the United States in 1900, and 69,000 in 1910; 115,000 in the two years; over half a million in the decade.

The peaceful victory of the United States Army Medical Corps over the chief difficulties of constructing the Panama Canal is an honour to men of science and rich with promise for mankind. The Panama Canal District has been damp, hot, and the habitat for malignant fevers, for centuries. During 300 years, the Spaniards, who were compelled to cross this region, were slain by thousands by the yellow fever, malarial fever, and dysentery. During the years 1850 to 1855, when the railway was under construction, the mortality was so great, that several times construction had to stop, because the labouring force had died or was sick. At one time, the construction company imported 1000 negroes from the West Coast of Africa, and within six months these had all died off. At another time, 1000 Chinese labourers died in the same way.

During the period 1881 to 1889, while the French company was pushing the construction of the Canal, they lost 22,189, or about 240 per thousand, per year. Since that time, the advance of tropical medicine has been great, and the discovery that certain mosquitoes transmit both yellow fever and malarial fever was so important, that the present rate is only 7·50 per thousand. Malaria has been reduced from 821 per thousand to 187 cases of sick-

ness. Since May 1906, there has not been a case of yellow fever.

President Taft declared that Colonel Gorgas had changed a pest-ridden zone into a district as free from disease as any of the states of the South "He has made the zone a pleasant place and a healthful place to live in." The failure of the French to build this splendid highway of the world's commerce would have been repeated by us but for medical science and art bravely and effectively applied. There has been greater progress during the last fifteen years than in the 200 previous years.

In closing his paper on "Sanitation at Panama" Dr. Gorgas said: "But what I wish particularly to emphasize is this: that while the great works in the tropical sanitation of Laveran, Ross, Reed, Finlay, Carter, and many others, have enabled the sanitary department on the Isthmus to take a vital part in the work of building the Canal, this is not the greatest good that we hope, and expect, will flow from this conspicuous object-lesson. *We hope that our success at Panama will induce other tropical countries to try the same measures; and that thereby gradually all the tropics will be redeemed and made a suitable habitation for the white man.* The expenditure has been about 1 cent *per capita* per day, and this sum is well within the means of any tropical country."

Since the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States for the first time came to be responsible for the administration and well-being of colonies of alien and backward people. The commercial communication with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines had become so close that a pestilence in those regions threatened the lives of our own population and compelled us to help them in order to avert disaster from ourselves. President Taft, in a speech in 1911, tells the story of the army doctors, Walter Reed and others, who exposed their lives in order

to hunt down the origin of yellow fever in Cuba and who, not without martyrdom, won success. When Porto Rico was annexed, the people were suffering from tropical anæmia, and another army doctor, Bailey K. Ashford, discovered that this depressing malady was due to the presence in the intestines of the "hook-worm", and that it yielded to treatment. Half a million people have received this treatment and have recovered; and, in due time, the island will be delivered from this plague.

When we took possession of the Philippines, our soldiers found cholera, bubonic plague, beriberi, malaria, amœbic dysentery, and leprosy. Pure mountain-water was conducted into the towns; a new sewage system was introduced; the people were inoculated with cholera lymph; they were vaccinated so generally that small-pox was stamped out; by a crusade against rats and a cleaning up of the seed-plots of disease, the bubonic plague was robbed of its terrors; by destruction of mosquitoes, the ravages of malaria have been reduced; dysentery is brought under subjection; the cases of leprosy are only 16 per cent of what they were formerly. By changing the food from polished to unpolished rice, the beriberi disease has been almost brought to an end. One of the most famous physicians, Dr. William H. Welch, asserts that "our nation has organized better for scientific and practical sanitary work in these possessions than it has done at home." This is largely due, as Dr. Weir Mitchell pointed out, to the fact that physicians in the army had the "first chance in the history of the world to prove what the intelligent despotism of educated discipline can enable the physician to effect for mankind."¹

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the aid of Lt. Colonel J. R. KEAN, M. D., Medical Corps, U. S. Army, in bringing together the documents relating to the sanitary policy of the United

States in the colonies. This eminent officer himself was of great service to Cuba in the second intervention, 1906-1909.

The value of the sanitary methods thus instituted by army officers of the United States is appreciated in Cuba, Mexico, and other Spanish-American States. Thus, President Luco of Chile recently said:

"The spread of plague and preventable diseases has been one of the worst handicaps of tropical America. With sanitation, such as that of Panama, there is no reason why South America should not maintain a vast population and support nations as advanced as any in the world. The Panama Canal opens the gateway to the western coast of the continent, and the elimination of disease from the Isthmus renders an even greater service to all Central and South America We have decided that we would request Washington to lend us several sanitary experts from Panama, the men whose services have won for your country such undying fame, at least in South America." (*Journ. Am. Med. Ass.*, July 20, 1912, p. 201.)

I have dwelt longer on the discoveries and services of my countrymen than on others, because I naturally have heard more about them. But I do not forget the services of the great medical leaders of other countries and of India, and I recall with special satisfaction a visit in company with the Rector of the University of Liverpool to the museum of tropical diseases in that institution. The beneficent activity of the noble profession of medicine makes all regions of the earth its debtors.

The results of a scientific social policy in the realm of social faith confirms the faith which gave the primary incentive. Nothing so damps and chills social faith as the nightmare of doubt, as to the value of effort, and the burden of fatalism. The attitude of faith in the Middle Ages and that of faith now, in the presence of disease, will illustrate my meaning. During the ages before the birth of modern sciences of chemistry, bacteriology, and experimental physiology, religious faith was often deep, sincere,

self-sacrificing, tender, and organized for help; — but it was often hopeless before a plague or a pestilence. It could kiss the loathsome sore of a leper, but it could not heal; it crowded the temples to implore divine mercy, but it felt helpless to reach the causes of the scourge; it looked eagerly for the happiness of a future life, but was pessimistic in relation to this world. Then, and long after, cholera, small-pox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and other diseases were regarded as beyond remedy. All love could do was to commend the soul to God and hope for future happiness. But modern physical science, applied in wise and energetic social policies, has given to faith a new argument, a more immediate evidence, and a mighty weapon. What was once universally regarded as a divine judgment or a blind fate is now seen to be the effect of certain definite and known causes, which can be removed by human effort.

Once men bowed in silence or cursed in despair, when the small-pox or the plague smote them and their children to the ground; now men say, let us join hands and purify the drinking water, and enforce vaccination, or kill the rats, or destroy insects which bear the deadly germs, or drain the marshes where mosquitoes breed, or annihilate poisonous reptiles. We face other evils with more faith and courage and hope, because we have made this brave record. It is easier for men to believe in the Good God, and to hold that justice and mercy are “reasonable”, and duty practicable in this present world. Such faith, won in the field of public hygiene, we carry over to other national and world enterprises. Perhaps when death at last becomes inevitable, natural, and merciful, we shall thus be helped to face what lies in the shadows beyond, with more confidence, just because we have found that faith in truth and goodness works so well in the only life which we know by experience.

SECTION TWO: EDUCATION AND MORALITY

The connection between public health and popular education is intimate and vital. Physical soundness and vigour are essential not only to existence, but to serious achievements in intellectual life. On the other hand, since health depends on conduct, and conduct on knowledge and beliefs, the people cannot be made strong and vigorous in spite of themselves; they must be intelligent, ambitious, and moral; they must co-operate in the work of their own redemption, even from disease and weakness. An illustration from an important movement in America will make this organic bond between education, morals, and health more clear and evident.

An exceedingly instructive experience in educational enterprises should here be mentioned, of which full particulars can be learned from the United States Commissioner of Education at Washington. Several philanthropical organizations desired to improve the schools and colleges of certain regions of the southern states of the Union, which had been held back by isolation or where the negroes had not gained a start since emancipation. A thorough study of the situation by men of scientific training has shown that certain material conditions must be improved, before the higher culture could advance generally and hopefully. Over wide areas the people were too poor, even if schools were furnished free, to send their children to them. Hence these benevolent men, co-operating with the Agricultural Department, set about to improve their methods of agriculture, stock-raising and market-gardening, so that the income of the people was often doubled or even quadrupled. Dr. Booker T. Washington, himself a coloured man, leads a movement to increase the skill, the efficiency, and the industrious habits of his race.

Another obstacle to education and morality has more recently been discovered in the hook-worm disease and

malaria which make men not only anæmic, but lazy, discouraged, and reckless. Hence, the gift of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, of \$1,000,000, to aid and stimulate the people to carry on a successful campaign against disease. It is said by many eminent medical authorities that similar obstacles to education exist in India; that it is not racial inferiority, nor incompetence, nor even climate, but backwardness in methods of production and depressing disease, which chiefly hinder the rise of a great and gifted people. These are evils which can be prevented, obstacles which can be removed. It is difficult to transform race-traits; but thymol is a remedy any victim of hook-worm disease can take.

1. The ends of education determine its methods, and the ends of education are identical with those of life itself, personal and social life: physical efficiency and energy, mental alertness and power, worthy character, interest in art and faith.

2. Education, as a process, has three general methods: control from without, or coercion, instruction or information, and nurture or character-building. Social reform and amelioration are promoted only by an educational process, taking the word "education" in its true and comprehensive meaning, not acquisition of knowledge alone. Many bad citizens in the West can pass examinations better than some saints. All Western Peoples have become convinced of the necessity of universal education. Free and modern institutions cannot be built on the quicksands of general ignorance, untruth, animal instincts, and selfishness. Money spent on good schools is not an expense, but an investment.

3. The chief social agencies and institutions of education, which we have through ages built up, are: first of all, the Home, under the guidance and light of holy, beautiful, and enlightened motherhood. The family is the primary and fundamental school of character and spirituality, and there educated women reign by teaching and influence.

The system of national elementary schools is the growth of three hundred years of continuous effort and sacrifice. These schools take up the process begun in the home and carry it forward; they are the chief agency for conveying the traditions and instruments of culture from generation to generation. As rapidly as possible, these schools are made universal, gratuitous, and attendance obligatory. Only backward districts fail to aim at this standard. Poverty and the lack of trained teachers are obstacles to be overcome. But our nations are ready for the sacrifice, willing to tax themselves heavily to pay the cost. The Renaissance and the Reformation were historical starting-points of this movement. Such great names as those of Luther, Luis Vives, and Erasmus glorify the story which does honour to mankind. Despotism, superstition, and class privilege dread the public school, and thrones of injustice, though supported by armies, totter in the presence of the schoolmistress.

The Churches, no longer dissipating energy and money on bitter controversies, have learned to co-operate with the State, especially in the moral and religious education of the rising generation. Out of the Churches have sprung the Young Men's Christian Association and other rich and powerful institutions which supplement the public schools without antagonism and in full sympathy. In some lands religion is also taught in State schools, as in Germany; while in France and some of the American States, in order to avoid theological disputes and injustice to those who doubt or reject the popular creeds, the schools are neutral in religion and leave it to the family and Church for cultivation. But everywhere a high morality is taught; teachers are selected for character as well as for intelligence; and the national literature, history, biography and music keep religion and goodness attractively before the mind. The main agency of religious culture,

however, is that institution which is specially fitted for the task, that is the Church; and it is organizing its forces to meet its educational responsibilities.

In both secondary and higher education the states are increasing their activity, by establishing and supporting academies, high schools, colleges, and universities. In the region where I live, this public activity is carried so far that the child of a poor family, if properly endowed by nature, can hope to pass through a course of education of eighteen years without paying one dollar for instruction, from kindergarten to the highest degrees of the state university. In the private colleges and universities, this expense may be met by scholarships provided by wealthy benefactors. In this way, it has been possible for many a bright youth to gain admission to the highest and most honourable positions in national life, though their origin was lowly and obscure, and their poverty was oppressive.

It must be remembered that in the advanced nations of the West all the people can read and write. There is a great demand for daily newspapers which are cheap and, with many serious faults, are instructive; for they constantly widen the range of ideas of the toiling multitudes and prepare them to take an intelligent part in industry and politics. It is not necessary to spend much money for books, because the free public libraries are everywhere, and in the country, travelling libraries bring the best literature to the door of the farmer. Women share in the discussion of all subjects of large interest. When public funds are inadequate, vast sums are given by rich men to supplement them; for great schools and libraries are nobler monuments and bring greater honour than triumphal arches and pyramids of granite.

At the foundation of all is the universal recognition, in morality and law, of the duty of parents to protect, maintain, and educate their own children; and society

makes it possible to perform this duty by providing schools, teachers, books, and all else needful, even for the poorest; and when they are negligent, it compels them to fulfil their moral and legal obligations. Thus the institutions of home, of Church, of government, and of private foundations co-operate in the national work of preparing a free people for its sublime career of endless progress. We are taught to honour our ancestors, not by imitating them and copying their errors, but by carrying forward the work which they nobly began and to which in their day they contributed so much.

LECTURE FIVE

MOVEMENTS TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF WAGE-EARNERS

In former ages, in Europe, the humbler tasks of society were performed by slaves or serfs. In England, the labourers were passing from serfdom in the fourteenth century, and the Great Plague of 1378 hastened their emancipation. In Germany, this liberation was much later, and was not completed until the nineteenth century. In Russia, this stage was nominally passed in the middle of the last century. In France, the Revolution of the eighteenth century shook the old order. In my own country, I am sorry and ashamed to say, negro slavery was not shaken off until our terrible Civil War; then the African bondmen passed at once from slavery to freedom and citizenship without going through the stage of serfdom.

But freedom is not the only desirable object of life; precious as liberty is, men need also bread, shelter, clothing, comfort, security, education. The transition to the higher stage is slow and uncertain, and attended by grave suffering and wrong. For example, the negro house-slaves in America were physically more comfortable and secure in sickness and old age than many of them have been, since the régime of freedom began.

Lawless men turned adrift, without tools or capital or occupation, must resort to mendicancy, vagabondage, theft, or violent crime; and one leads to another. Many who escape these evils still live on the brink of starvation, and their families are exposed to extreme deprivation, and they often become reduced to the necessity of living upon charity, especially in sickness and old age.

The "Labour Movement" of the West is the result of a growing, deepening, and already general conviction that this condition is intolerable and unnecessary, and that gradual amelioration is possible and obligatory.

The extension of popular education has made more wage-earners intelligent; the great industry has brought them together and made them "class conscious". Meantime, the general public has become morally sensitive.

In the United States, we have all the problems of all the countries of Europe, especially of the poorest and most backward. It is true, we have immense advantages over Europe: 1. Cheap and plenty raw materials of industry,—forests, mines. 2. We are still chiefly an agricultural people, and families can escape cities, if they desire to build themselves homes on the land. 3. Our development of the Great Industry by invention, and use of inventions, and science has been marvellous; but it is recent, limited in area, and only fairly begun.

But, on the other hand, we have what no European country has: 1. A throng of foreign immigrants,—poor, ignorant, un-American, who crowd the low-paid industries of our cities, and create slums there, and become tools of corrupt politicians; this, chiefly in cities of the North. 2. The emancipated negro population of the South, not yet prepared to take a place in industry, not yet under moral self-control, and the suffering victims of race antagonism of the whites.

To meet the demands of this situation, we have as yet not escaped the economico-political *laissez-faire* convictions which Germany first, and later Great Britain, have in greater degree shaken off. We cannot save our nation without a vigorous, consistent, progressive policy, which is now in process of formation.

Such a policy is at hand. It is in 1912 the chief issue of factions within parties and of parties themselves.

M. Léon Bourgeois, minister of Labour in France, declares this tendency to be general: "In France and outside of France the questions of politics, pure and simple, give way to discussions of social requirements; majorities and minorities group themselves exclusively on the field of economic struggle" (*Solidarité*, 1912, p. 4).

The economic and legal system under which we live, has the following characteristics: 1. Land and the materials and instruments of production are private property; and property rights thus held by individuals or by artificial persons (corporations) are protected by law and by all the force of government. 2. The management and control of capital, for the most part, is in the hands of owners of property. This involves the control of hours of labour, physical conditions of the shop, and proper treatment by foremen. 3. The product of industry and trade, after the expenses of business are paid, belongs entirely to the owners and managers; and the wage-earners have no claim on it. 4. The operative workmen are paid for their labour in wages or salaries, for the time they are hired and occupied, and not longer. No workman has any legal right to be employed by any particular manager or capitalist. 5. Both employer and wage-earner are legally free to make any sort of a contract they may agree to accept, relating to wages, hours, and conditions.

Public opinion in relation to "free contract". During the latter part of the eighteenth century, and up to about 1870, the theory was generally accepted and embodied in legislation that a régime of entire freedom is best; that the State should not interfere except to assure order and security of life and property; that with entire liberty on all sides progress was certain, capitalist managers would receive their just interest and profits, land its proper rent, labour its fair wages.

But, with experience, the peoples of the Occident have come to believe that this confidence in unregulated freedom was a delusion; that a policy of neglect is not sage; that the help of government is required to repress the selfishness of arbitrary power, and secure decent human conditions of life for wage-earners who are helpless, without occupation, and are therefore at a disadvantage, in comparison with those who control machinery, factories, mines, mills, railways, and commerce.

In recent years, the peoples of the Occident, under the leadership of Germany, have come to take an entirely different view of the relation of economic life to government. In respect to government itself, we have grown into the conviction that it is simply one of the organs of the will of the people, one of the tools it can use for the common welfare. In respect to the huge corporations, which have under a régime of freedom largely suppressed free competition, have sometimes bought favourable legislation and corrupted courts, have dealt dishonestly with stockholders and burdened tax-payers and consumers, few will now deny the necessity for governmental protection. We can say this without suggesting that the majority of capitalists are unscrupulous or inhumane; and we wish the criticism to strike only the guilty.

The wage-earners and their families are so numerous, so essential to the productive enterprise of a nation, and their welfare is so sacred a right, that the peoples of the West have developed a policy, which, in its main outlines, it is the purpose of this lecture to describe, to interpret, and to justify.

The new politico-economic social conscience, the sense of solidarity of interest and moral obligation, has found expression not only in the fiery writings and speeches of labour agitators, but in the earnest words of responsible representatives of wealth, enterprise, and political force.

We have the right to cite the language of an eminent capitalist who is at the same time a systematic student of social science and practical problems, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, head of a great English firm of manufacturers. He urges the Churches to arouse the influential to the clearer recognition of brotherhood and its obligations:

"Had they played their part in making us vitally conscious", writes Mr. Rowntree, "that all our opportunities and talents and possessions should be regarded as a trust, to be utilized, not for our own ends, but for the benefit of the community, we should never have heard of labour unrest.

"It is because we have forgotten our trust that labour rises and says to us: 'If neither love nor justice can induce you to share the good things of the world with your co-workers on fair terms, we, who have suffered for generations, must demand our share by force.'

"We must recognize that, if justice is to be done to the workers, it will mean sacrifice on the part of the rich. No doubt, as the demand for higher wages and better conditions of work becomes more insistent, the employing classes will improve their methods of organization, and in many industries great improvements can be made in the lot of the workers without materially lessening the earnings of capital. But this will not solve the problem. The poverty at one end of the social scale will not be removed except by encroaching heavily upon the great riches at the other end. I think, during the next few years, we shall see labour organized more effectively than ever before, successfully demanding a much larger share of the wealth annually produced."

The doctrine of social justice for all has been thus voiced by one of the leading American newspapers in an editorial article:

"The Rich Man and Social Justice."

"Men in the full pride of wealth, honour, and worldly influence are not apt to realize how short-lived is the structure they have built. They do not think how, in spite of all their personal skill and earnest effort, it must meet the shocks of life or crumble away under the disintegrating forces of society — the very forces which they have used in its building.

"The rich man may, by great caution, protect his child. His grandchild, whom he loves as well, may die in the poorhouse or the gutter, in spite of all he has done or could do. There is but one way to prevent that: to work against those conditions which create or perpetuate social suffering. That is the rich man's personal interest in fighting for social justice, against the terrible curse of poverty, for better conditions of life for the millions.

"For, he himself, or his child that he loves better than himself, or his child's child may be among those millions, the most wretched and helpless atom of them all.

"It is this grave truth of life with which Col. Roosevelt dealt in the splendid peroration of his speech at Louisville:

"I ask justice for the weak, for their sake; and I ask it for the sake of our children, and our children's children, who are to come after us. This country will not be a good place for any of us, if it is not a reasonably good place for all of us.

"When I plead the cause of the crippled brakeman on a railroad, of the overworked girl in a factory, of the stunted child toiling at inhuman labour, of all who work excessively or in unhealthy surroundings, of the family dwelling in the squalor of a noisome tenement, of the worn-out farmer in regions where the farms are worn out also; when I protest against the unfair profits of unscrupulous and conscienceless men or against the greedy exploitation of the helpless by the beneficiaries of privilege, I am not only fighting for the weak, I am fighting for the strong.

"The sons of all of us will pay in the future, if we of the present do not do justice to the present. If the fathers cause others to eat

bitter bread, the teeth of their own sons shall be set on edge. Our cause is the cause of justice for all, in the interest of all. Surely, there never was a cause in which it was better worth while to spend and be spent.

"Is it too much to ask the men who wittingly or unwittingly throw all their energy into amassing property and against even the most rational and temperate measures for bringing about a larger social equity and security—is it too much to ask that such men stop to consider their own interest in the profound truth Col. Roosevelt has here so eloquently phrased?" (*Tribune*, Chicago, April 7, 1912.)

This editorial from a rich and influential American newspaper may be taken as typical of the more recent views of leaders of thought in the West, at least of the main stream of tendency, not merely in a faction of one party, but among men of clear moral vision in all parties in America and Europe.

Mr. Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, speaking at a rich men's banquet in New York City, February 10, 1912, is reported as having made this appeal to his fellow magnates, whose words fix the destinies of many thousands of workmen and their families:

"We, who have great power and influence in the affairs of the country, have not all of us done the fair thing. It is imperative that something be done to improve the conditions of mankind. Cannot we ourselves do something to improve that condition? Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come quickly, and the mob will bring more. I appeal to you that in your dealings with men under you, you take great care to be sure that you are doing the square thing by them."

The reference to the "mob" is, of course, irritating to a democratic people, and the implied claim of superiority

is resented; but the speech, as quoted, does show that those who manage the great industries are awakened by fear, anxiety, remorse, justice, and philanthropy, and are thinking of having a share in initiating improvement, without waiting for mutiny and force to compel them.

The educated classes, apart from industry and business, are also becoming more sensitive to social wrong.

Elizabeth Gibson Cheney, wife of Canon Cheney, the great Bible scholar of England and editor of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, wrote:

Whenever there is silence around me,
By day or by night,
I am startled by the cry,
It came down from the Cross.
The first time I heard it
I went out and searched,
And found a man in the throes of crucifixion;
And I said, "I will take you down."
And I tried to take the nails out of his feet,
But he said, "Let them be,
For I cannot be taken down
Until every man, every woman, and every child
Come together to take me down".
And I said, "But I cannot bear your cry;
What can I do?"
And he said, "Go about the world;
Tell every one you meet:
There is a man on the cross".

The economic policy of the Occident in relation to wage-earners is the concrete expression in legislation and custom of the ethical requirements already expressed in general terms.

1. *Legally regulated and protected liberty of voluntary organizations of wage-earners* to advance their own interests. It has cost us time, suffering, and loss to learn the simple and obvious lesson that the wage-earners are more

directly, feelingly, and continuously interested in their own economic welfare than any other persons can possibly be. As the wage-earners have grown in intelligence, with the help of the common schools, cheap printing, and free discussions, they have developed capacity for organization and administration, and have produced leaders of ability and good judgment. On the other hand, through their experiments, both successful and disappointing, they have learned the difficulties of business management and respect for men of enterprise.

a) In respect to mutual benefit societies of wage-earners there is no serious difference of opinion and no collision of interests. For example, there are various forms of fraternal associations, savings associations, sickness funds, insurance societies, building and loan associations, co-operative societies of consumers. All these organizations have full legal recognition and rights of corporate bodies which enable them to plead in courts, hold estates, and transact business.

b) When we come to the trade-unions, we have a knotty problem, and a wide divergence of views. The central and direct purpose of a trade-union is to promote collective bargaining, and, incidentally, perhaps increasingly, to secure favourable legislation.

Collective bargaining. The modern employing corporation is often a colossal organization. Over against a combination representing millions of capital the individual wage-earner is a pigmy. Legally he is free to accept or refuse the offer of the capitalist; but this legal freedom is in reality a mockery; in sober reality the isolated individual is compelled to accept any terms offered him,—always remembering that employers to some extent compete for labour, and that moral considerations have some weight. But apart from such mitigating influences, the individual wage-earner has no voice in the conditions under which

he sells his labour, and he agrees to do the bidding of the master.

But if the men can combine, as the capitalists do, they become stronger; they can voice their demands through their own chosen representatives. Their "strike", or refusal to work until better terms are offered, becomes a serious matter which cannot be ignored. By accumulating strike funds, and by assisting each other in conflict, the unions enable their members to hold out until the employers are more willing to yield to their demands.

The organizations of the wage-earners are the *training school of politics* for the voters. Skill and ability in government do not come from practice in rhetorical speeches, but in actual experience with the government and administration of some social organization where pecuniary and business interests are involved. Thus the trade-unions, the friendly and fraternal societies, the co-operative stores, the building and loan associations furnish to millions of working-men actual practice in the regulation and management of affairs. This is vitally important, because wage-earners are cut off from the control and direction of factories, banks, and shipping, and are in danger of losing all understanding for large financial affairs. In their own organizations this defect is supplied and the people are kept in touch with vast enterprises which touch their economic interests and call for the exercise of self-control, judgment of business, and an understanding of the dangers and difficulties of enterprises. This helps to keep them free from impracticable utopias and radical revolutionary schemes, and critical of voluble orators who are liberal in the offer of rainbows to subservient and excitable followers (see S. & B. Webb, *Industrial Democracy*).

Antagonism of employers. Employers, as a rule, do not like the trade-unions, although they are legally recognized. This antagonism is natural: there is a real conflict

of interests. It is true, capital and labour must unite, just as merchant and purchaser have a common desire to agree; but in both cases there is a borderland of conflict,—what one gains the other loses. The conflict is inevitable, yet it must be compromised by bargaining, or the world's life would come to a sudden ending.

Legal responsibility of trade-unions. Evidently, the unions have become a power. Like all forces they require regulation in the common interest. Therefore, it has been necessary to define and limit their actions by law, so that they shall be held to conduct which is in harmony with the general interests. As the associations of employers represent one special class interest, and the trade-unions another, so the government stands for the harmony of all special interests in the welfare of all. The final word must be spoken by the organ of the public will.

Conciliation and arbitration. In order to facilitate the bargaining between capital and labour, employers and employés, experiments have been tried with boards of conciliation and arbitration. Many of these boards are informal, formed by employers and employés, to settle some dispute about wages or other conditions. But the tendency is to establish regular councils, clothed with certain legal authority, and ready at any moment to assist in the settlement of conflict or, better still, to avert coming trouble.

Thus far, compulsory arbitration has not been found generally practicable, because capitalists cannot be compelled to run their works at a loss, and, on the other side, wage-earners will not work on unfavourable terms; and no satisfactory way has been found for requiring them to labour for lower wages than they believe they ought to have.

But boards of conciliation have probably mitigated the evils of strife by bringing public opinion to bear on unreasonable parties; by offering friendly suggestions of

settlement, and by securing time for sober and rational discussion of differences.¹

II. *The income of wage-earners is affected by their conditions of health and bodily integrity.* The sound and vigorous man can earn more than the crippled or diseased workman. From the standpoint of economic welfare the protection of life, limb, and health is vastly important. We have devoted a special lecture to the movement in the Occident to conserve the physical forces of the workmen, which is at the same time a means of improving the income of the people.

III. *The effort to establish a minimum wage.* When all the world believed in *laissez-faire*, and thought that it was a reflection on Divine Providence to attempt interference with the all-wise method of fixing wages by competition pure and simple, the demand to fix the lower range of wages was regarded as absurd.

It is true that the "ruling classes" in former times, in the fourteenth century, as in the "Statute of Labourers", had fixed a maximum wage, above which the rewards of toil should not go; but for a long time, competition has been treated with almost superstitious awe, as a sacred rite. The employers generally have felt morally justified in getting work done as cheaply as they could find competent persons willing to hire themselves. In some classes of labour this rate is entirely insufficient to support a decent human existence. This is especially true, where children can do the task, or where women and ignorant or hungry men can be employed, and where there are no trade-unions to help with collective bargaining.

¹ *Bulletin of U. S. Bureau of Labour*, No. 98, (Jan. 1912), gives a full account of American and European

agencies of conciliation and arbitration.

The advocates of a minimum wage start from an entirely different point of view; they seek to discover first of all what is necessary to support human life — not mere animal existence, — and to secure a share in the common heritage and estate of our humanity. Then they would fix the lowest wage at this level and leave to superior ability, skill, and organization the task of securing higher wages for higher service. The commodities of life, now created by this lowest group, would probably be somewhat higher to the body of consumers; but these should not be willing to live and enjoy comforts at the cost of the starvation or degradation of their fellow citizens. The older method was to be sure of profits and to organize industry to that end; the more recent method is to discover what is necessary for human life, and adjust wages and prices to that end. Evidently, business will not be carried on without profits. Can the latter purpose be realized without destroying the incentive to business management? This is our problem.

The general principle of the minimum wage has been quite widely accepted, and a beginning of legislation in this direction has been made; but there is no agreement among economists, as yet, as to the practicability of this measure.

The minimum wage has been approximated both indirectly and directly. Indirectly, by forbidding the exploitation of young children, by raising the standard of housing, by shortening the hours of labour for women and, in some industries, for men, and by social insurance.

Wherever a people enacts a poor-law, it recognizes the right to live, and Occidental countries have steadily improved the standard of comfort for indigent persons and criminals, until their situation is actually more sure and comfortable than that of many who try to live on wages. It is not a question whether a nation must support all its citizens; that is conceded; the question is whether it will

pay them wages enough so that they can earn their living without stealing or begging or vice.

Directly, though as yet on a limited scale, Great Britain and some of her Colonies have led the way for other nations, by minimum wage requirements in certain callings.

*Minimum Wage Boards.*¹

Mrs. Florence Kelly defines a socially subnormal industry as one which "regularly and permanently produces wholesale poverty, when it pays wages so low that a workman engaged in it cannot maintain his wife and four children, but must rely upon them for a part of the family support; when it minimizes the employment of men, substituting women and children for them; when it pays to an average, normal woman-worker, dependent upon herself, a wage upon which she cannot live". It has been found that several industries have furnished cheap commodities to the consumers and paid heavy dividends to stockholders and millionaire managers, while the employés are paid so little that they sink in starvation, disease, pauperism, and vice. Such industries are parasitic, since they do not pay the costs of production; they are also often predatory, because they resist all vigorous and effective measures of improvement.

Minimum Wage Boards have been successful for eighteen years in Australasia; they have been introduced into England; and it is only a question of a little time when states of the American Union will put them to the test of experiment. Massachusetts, that great state which has so often been the intellectual and spiritual leader of American commonwealths, has (in 1912) already enacted a minimum wage law, based on the principles of the British Act.

¹ Article in *Amer. Jour. Sociology*,
Nov. 1911.— Report of the Com-

mission on Minimum Wage Board,
Massachusetts, 1912.

IV. *Industrial Training.* It has come to be generally believed in the Occident that the improvement of income is vitally connected with industrial efficiency. The product of an individual industry or that of a commonwealth may be increased by many factors co-operating: superior management, excellent organization of the factory or mill, good credit, and abundant capital on the side of the capitalist, and physical energy, reliable health, skill, pride in the work, friendly and cheerful disposition, honesty and all good qualities on the side of the industrial operatives. Out of the product must be paid rent, interest, taxes, insurance, profits, wages. The larger the product per unit of labour and capital, the more there will be to divide.

The education of the wage-earners from childhood upward, is, therefore, of significance for all classes in a nation.

But the word "education" must be taken in its widest and deepest meaning, as the full development of capacities of body, mind, character, and special skill.

Law may do something to compel employers to raise the miserable wages of the poorest to a decent level; and trade-unions by collective bargaining may bring pressure to bear, which cannot be ignored; but no sort of force can permanently raise wages in all groups of operations beyond what the product can yield and still leave a motive to capital and to management. We have come to believe that increasing efficiency is one of the essential factors of increasing income. Whether the workmen would secure their equitable share of the augmented product without law and collective bargaining is a question which must be considered by itself; but, increase of product is the absolutely necessary and universal condition of increase of wages; and improvement in education not only tends to make workmen more alert, inventive, and intelligent in production, but also raises their standard of life and makes them more resolute and persistent in their demands for

higher wages and better treatment. Education also tends to open the eyes of better-paid workmen to higher and saner enjoyments and prevents waste of income on sensual excess and alcohol.

Types of technical education are: private philanthropy, business enterprise, municipal continuation schools, technological colleges, agricultural colleges and institutes, and co-operation between schools, trade-unions, and manufacturers.¹

V. *Continuity of income: preventive measures.*

1. The principal preventable causes of the loss of income are (a) sickness, (b) disability from accident, (c) involuntary unemployment.

a) Of sickness, and methods of reducing or preventing, I have spoken under the head of "Health".

b) Disability from accident.² An international society, with branches in all the principal countries, is active in promoting legislation to prevent accidents and poisons in the various trades.

The object of a law for protecting workmen against industrial accidents and diseases is plainly their own health, comfort, safety, and economic well-being and the well-being of the commonwealth. In order that the workmen, foremen, and masters may assist by carefulness in the successful administration of the law, they are urged to observe certain precautions:

"All machinery, when in operation, is dangerous, and should be considered so by the operator. It should be so protected as to offer the least possible chance for injury to those who operate it.

¹ 25. Ann. Report of the (U. S.) Commissioner of Labour, 1910.

² Bulletins of the International Association for Labour Legislation,

Arbeitsamt, Arbeiterschutz, published in German, French, and English; Prof. S. BAUER, Secretary, Basel, Switzerland.

All set screws, or other projections on revolving machinery shall be countersunk, or otherwise guarded, when possible.

Means shall be provided and placed within convenient reach for promptly stopping the machine, group of machines, shafting, or other power-transmitting machinery.

Machines must not be placed so closely together as to be a serious menace to those who have to pass between them. Passage-ways must be ample in width and head room, and must be kept well lighted and free from obstructions.

All hatchways, elevator walls or other openings in the floors shall be properly closed or guarded.

All premises must be kept in a clean and sanitary condition.

Ample and separate toilet facilities for each sex shall be provided, and toilet rooms must be kept clean, well ventilated and well lighted.

Food must not be taken into any workroom where white lead, arsenic, or other poisonous substances, or gases are present under harmful conditions.

Proper and sufficient means of escape, in case of fire, shall be provided and shall be kept free from obstructions.

Poisonous and noxious fumes or gases, and dust injurious to health, arising from any process, shall be removed, as far as practicable.

No employé of any factory, mercantile establishment, mill or workshop shall operate or tamper with any machine or appliance with which such employé is not familiar and which is in no way connected with the regular and reasonable necessary duties of his employment, unless it be by and with the direct or reasonably implied command, request, or direction of the master or his representative or agent.

Reports of accidents must be sent promptly to the state factory inspector.

This notice, printed in various languages, must be posted in a conspicuous place in every office and work-room in every establishment covered by the provisions of the law." (Summary of Illinois Law on Health, Safety, and Comfort.)

Thus minutely and with painstaking care does the Legislature provide against bodily injury and discomfort caused by the cruelty and negligence of the employer and even from the ignorance and heedlessness of the workmen themselves. Life and bodily integrity are too precious to be daily and hourly exposed to needless and preventable injury. In every line and word of the statute, we read the national respect for humanity. Nothing is trifling which in the least affects a human being.

c) Unemployment. In a simple, primitive village community unemployment of individual workmen is not often felt as an evil. Each member of the society shares the good or evil fortunes of all; each one is known to all others and has numerous ties of blood, marriage, or acquaintance. The whole group may suffer a common calamity and be without the means of life, but no member suffers alone, for all help the weakest brother and neighbour.

Modern industry, among many effects, has produced the isolated, lonely, deserted wage-earner. In great industrial centres the individual is lost; domestic ties are sundered; the immigrant cannot make himself understood; the unemployed has no one upon whom he has a claim. Each one is free to come and go, to travel, to improve his fortunes in a new place, and, if he fail, to starve to death in sight of wealth, luxury, and plenty. In the manufacturing centres the isolated individual is without tools, without a shop, without materials; if, in his weary wanderings from place to place, his money is spent and he does not find a master to hire him, he is within a few days of a pauper's burial.

That the unemployed workman does not often actually come to this extremity in the busy cities of the West is due to various mitigating circumstances. One may beg a shelter, or take refuge in a police station or the "casual ward" of an almshouse, or in a cheap lodging-house, or a municipal hostelry, or a religious mission.

The consequence of resort to such makeshifts of charity is sometimes worse than starvation of the body; it is physical ruin and moral degradation. Life itself becomes a curse to the man himself and a menace to the community. The unemployed tramp becomes the unemployable.

A shrewd social worker (James Mullenbach), himself trained to manual labour and for some time superintendent of a free municipal lodging-house, has said of these wanderers: "The conditions under which these men work and live have the constant tendency to bring them into a personal condition there, they are unemployable Go into one of our lodging-houses and sleep there for even a night in the fetid atmosphere and you would have a craving for alcoholic stimulant. There is nothing which brings a man's stamina down so much as irregularity in employment."

It is true that many workmen are out of employment by personal fault, — laziness, awkwardness, inebriety, enfeebling vice; and many because of inherited defect or sickness. Yet even here the general social causes will help us to account for the unfitness for regular industry.

The facts of unemployment become a problem for the whole community, because the most important and decisive causes are general and beyond the responsibility of particular individuals, and also because the isolated individual is helpless when he endeavours to search for a place to earn wages on his own account.

Crises and depressions. The economists have studied carefully the origin of those periods of glut and

stagnation in the commercial world which fill the rich with anxiety, which bring wage-earners to despair, and fill the hearts of the compassionate with pain. No one seems to be able to give a wholly satisfactory explanation of these dark days of commercial eclipse; but all are agreed that the wage-earners are not responsible for them, although they are the chief sufferers, and they are utterly unable to control the situation, singly or in combination.

The influence of the seasons on unemployment is a serious general cause, especially when, as in Europe and America, the difference between summer and winter is so great, and the severe cold of northern latitudes with their months of freezing chill requires a suspension of agriculture, building operations, and many other outside occupations.

There is also a seasonal demand for commodities, heavy woollen goods for winter, and cotton for summer; and this calls for excessively long and intense hours of labour at certain times, while at other periods the industry is suspended and labour is discharged and left without income.

The rapid introduction of improved machinery and labour-saving devices, with better organization of shops, is, in the long run, a blessing to the nation in the multiplication and cheapening of commodities for the comfort and enjoyment of mankind; but during the time of transition many are thrown out of employment, and some are too old to accustom themselves to the new machines and new ways. These considerations will show that society must co-operate with the working-men to mitigate this crying evil of unemployment. How?

First of all by providing free labour exchanges, centres of information, which will facilitate the movement of idle men from places where they are not wanted, to other places where there is a demand for their strength of willing arms and their skill.

Secondly, the community can, by proper foresight and planning, so arrange the demands of great corporations, cities, states, and nations as to give in larger degree steady regular employment.

Thirdly, the public authorities can provide for the industrial training of men rejected, because they are unskilful, so that they may be sought after by manufacturers.

Fourthly, boys and girls may be so taught, trained, and disciplined in suitable schools and apprenticeships, so guided and supervised while they are forming their habits for life, that very few will grow up heedless, idle, vagabond, and useless.

VI. *Social Insurance.* After all known methods of prevention have been effectively organized in law and administration, the people whose income depends on wages, will still be exposed to danger of want by sickness, accident, invalidism, and old age, involuntary unemployment and death of the breadwinner.

To render the life of wage-earners more secure, dignified, contented, and happy, the income must cover not only the daily wants, but also all those emergencies of existence.

There are only three methods of meeting this want: charity, savings, and social insurance.

Charity must ever be the last resort, because it is degrading to character. It is exceptional and a mere make-shift.

Individual savings have been highly recommended, chiefly by people who have inherited wealth or opportunity. Experience in all countries proves that they are uncertain and unreliable.¹ Individual savings as a method of pro-

¹ I have offered evidence of this in my *Industrial Insurance in the United States*.

viding for the emergencies of life of wage-earners are not reliable, because:

1. In a large number of instances saving means to reduce the expenditures for food, clothing, house-room, and education of children to a point where physical strength and industrial efficiency are impaired and future earning power permanently lowered.

2. In relation to old age a large proportion of working people will not live to old age; and extreme sacrifice for an event which seems so remote and improbable, cannot be made to appear rational.

3. In the case of accident arising out of the occupation, the cost of compensation is now universally admitted to be a fair charge on the business, a part of the cost of production, to be distributed among the consumers, though at first advanced by the employer. To ask wage-earners to bear this cost out of savings is unjust.

4. In large measure, the same is true of sickness and invalidism; they are in some degree due to general causes beyond the individual will; and, therefore, society should divide part of the cost of loss.

5. It requires many years to amass enough by savings to provide for the emergencies of invalidism, old age, and death of breadwinner; while in a sound insurance fund the workman is assured of a definite and adequate indemnity from the very beginning, from the time he enters the fund.

6. Social insurance teaches people to co-operate as brothers; individual savings train them rather to be egoistic, selfish, unsocial,—qualities which do not require cultivation, but have only too much native strength.

The philosophy of social insurance has been stated by Dr. Albert von Schäffle,¹ one of the organizers of the German system:

¹ *Aus meinem Leben* (1905), cited in W. H. DAWSON, *Social Insurance in Germany* (1912), preface.

"The supreme aim of statesmanship is not the wealth and efficiency of the few, but the greatest physical, material, and moral force of the entire community, by which a nation maintains its position in the struggle for existence. From this standpoint everything that makes the masses of the population secure against need, and therefore on the lowest plane contented, that strengthens a people by its own co-operative effort, that creates social peace and prevents violent agitation, that transforms the spirit of mendicancy into a consciousness of State-directed, collective self-help, and that raises the entire moral and political level of the lower classes, is of incalculable worth. And all this is done by the system of obligatory self-insurance against want and distress."

Co-operation. In England a small group of poor weavers in Rochdale organized and learned to administer a business of common purchases and even of manufacture, which has been imitated on the continent and proved a benefit, economic and moral, to millions of working people. Not only did they secure unadulterated goods with a share in the profits, but they learned to subdue selfishness for a common cause; a spiritual blessing grew out of a material advantage.

In Germany, a magistrate found the small farmers oppressed by debts and ground by usurers, suspicious of each other, reckless and sunken in despondency. As a Christian man who felt his obligations to his less fortunate neighbours, he induced them to combine in credit associations. By co-operation they were able to capitalize their industry, frugality, and honesty so as to secure resources for seed, implements, cattle, and fertilizers without becoming the slaves of money-lenders. Raiffeisen thus invented and administered a social method which not only improved material conditions, but also the character of the members. Senator Luzzati improved and adapted these people's banks

to the needs of Italian peasants, and thus they have started a career of conquest around the world.

They have been introduced also into India and there produced the same beneficent effects, both external and moral,—another proof of the kinship of spirit in all lands under the most diverse conditions. As a competent economist, familiar with India, has well said: “At the heart of every economic problem lies a moral problem, and the surest cure of economic evils is one which gives the people the means of overcoming their troubles themselves. The experience of Europe seems to show that co-operative banks are such a means, and there is, therefore, no nobler or more genuinely patriotic work to be done in India than to teach the people to organize village associations upon the principle of mutual credit.” (Morison, *Industrial Organization*, p. 168.)

REFERENCES.—M. FASSBENDER, *F. W. Raiffeisen in seinem Leben, Denken und Wirken*, Berlin, 1902.

F. A. NICHOLSON, *Report on Land and Agricultural Banks*.

THEODORE MORISON, *The Industrial Organization of an Indian Province*, 1911 (so complete that a full discussion in my lecture is needless, even if there were room).

H. W. WOLFF, *People's Banks*.

E. A. PRATT, *The Organization of Agriculture*.

THE HEROIC VIRTUES OF THE NEW PHILANTHROPY

History, literature, and monumental art have hitherto glorified that courage which found expression in war, bloodshed, and conquest of the weak by the strong. There is good reason to hope that war will some day cease. Where will then be the opportunity for those virile qualities which we all admire, even when they are associated with selfishness, cruelty, and oppression?

This is a problem which Richard Watson Gilder, with the prophetic insight of a true poet, has so beautifully touched with his genius of kindness.

'Twas said, 'When roll of drum and battle's roar
Shall cease upon the earth, O, then no more
The deed, the race, the heroes in the land.'
But scarce that word was breathed, when one small hand
Lifted victorious o'er a giant wrong
That had its victims crushed through ages long;
Some woman set her pale and quivering face,
Firm as a rock, against a man's disgrace;
A little child suffered in silence, lest
His savage pain should wound a mother's breast;
Some quiet scholar flung his gauntlet down
And risked, in Truth's great name, the synod's frown;
A civic hero, in the calm realm of laws,
Did that which suddenly drew a world's applause;
And one to the pest his lithe young body gave
That he a thousand thousand lives might save.

The Indian spirit of gentleness, grace, and sacrifice
will understand this heroic grace of woman, of scholar,
of teacher, of physician, and yet give to the world warriors
of this type, victories of the highest order.

Along their front no sabres shine,
No blood-red pennons wave,
Their banner bears the single line:
"Our duty is to save."

VII. *The ethical and spiritual significance* of these policies of national solidarity, and even international movement.

It may be said that they are merely "selfish" efforts of nations to keep down discontent, to avoid mutiny, to make property and government safe. Even so, they are at least prudent and wise; and, since all the precious interests of millions of people are at stake, they are part of the national duty.

But it is only fair to admit that other motives enter into this agitation and struggle to improve the lot of wage-earners who constitute so vast a part of our populations.

Duty and religion, philanthropy and solidarity of brotherhood are forces, no doubt somewhat tainted by less sublime and idealistic feelings.

The Churches of all denominations have come to see they have a duty to direct the powerful motives of religion in this direction. The Popes of Rome, their bishops, the Evangelical Social Congress of the State Church in Germany, and various ecclesiastical bodies of Great Britain and America have instituted studies and urged reforms demanded by modern conditions.

The Emperor William I, in his famous message to the Reichstag, November 17, 1881, introducing the new social insurance laws, disclosed the lofty motives of the nation:

"We consider it Our Imperial duty to impress upon the Reichstag the necessity of furthering the welfare of the working people . . . We should review with increased satisfaction the manifold successes with which The Lord has blessed Our reign, could We carry with Us to the grave the consciousness of leaving Our country an additional and lasting assurance of internal peace, and the conviction that We have rendered the needy that *assistance to which they are justly entitled*. Our efforts in that direction are certain of the approval of all the Federate Governments, and we confidently rely on the support of the Reichstag, without distinction of parties. In order to realize these views, a Bill for the Insurance of Workmen against Industrial Accidents will first of all be submitted, providing for a general organization of industrial Sick Relief Insurance. Likewise, those who are disabled in consequence of Old Age or Invalidity possess a *well-founded claim to more ample relief on the part of the State than they have hitherto enjoyed*. To devise the fittest ways and means for making such provision, however difficult, is one of the highest obligations of every community, based on

the moral principles of Christianity." (Cited in L. K. Frankel and M. M. Dawson, *Working-men's Insurance in Europe*, p. 94.)

VIII. Women as beneficiaries and agents of the forward movement.

The modern movement in Christian countries could never have attained its present proportions, unless it had invited to its blessings and called to its aid the sisters, wives, and mothers of the Western World. It is an essential principle of Christianity that men and women are equal before God; of the same divine origin, sharers in the same redemption, obliged on every ground of reason to co-operate in fulfilling the divine will. Unquestionably, the Church leaders have not always held this belief consistently, and their occasional contempt for women has wrought disaster. But for centuries, the tendency has been to bring women into full enjoyment of all that is essential to human dignity. By a thousand routes, led by varied influences, we have come to measure civilization by its treatment of women. The cause is won: before the law, in the field of education and social influence, in the Church and everywhere the spiritual worth of wife and mother has come to recognition. Not that the principle is applied as logically and thoroughly as it deserves, but the principle is admitted and its application to its full limit is only a question of time. We have made up our minds that no nation can claim and hold a place in the front rank of progress which keeps in silence, darkness, and subjugation one-half its people. It is becoming more and more difficult for men to tolerate the constant and intimate companionship of those who cannot have fellowship with them in art, science, politics, and religious thought. In many and extensive regions, women of a certain degree of leisure give far more attention to the humanities than do men;

and the result is a social intercourse which is full of vivacity, charm, variety, and purity. The Victorian Age shows in its literature the new refining influence. Philanthropy, especially in the protection and education of children and the feeble, has added to its constellations the brilliant names of Elizabeth Fry, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and hundreds of others. The army of school teachers has been recruited from this new source, and the agents of culture have thus become vastly more numerous. Goethe, in the climax of his drama of *Faust*, has voiced a universal conviction of modern life: "The Woman-soul leadeth us, upward and on".

CULTURE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

We have thus far dealt with the physical and economic interests of the wage-earners. But all this is a "preliminary item", a necessary means to the supreme ends of human life. Our ideal for all the operatives and their families includes a participation in the highest elements of civilization. We do not regard the grimy labourers in factory, mine, field, and mill as mere candidates for sleek, fat, and prosperous animality. Christianity declares that they are all spirits, images of the Divine; that they may not be regarded as mere means to social prosperity. Every man counts for one, and each has an inherent moral right to the best things the universe has to offer.

This belief is taking concrete form in specific institutions, laws, movements; it is shaping the treatment of workmen by their employers; it appears in the budgets of cities, commonwealths, and nations. The social and university settlement movement, led by such illustrious spirits as Arnold Toynbee, established in many cities common centres of discussion, where workmen and scholars meet on common terms and learn from each other what is best for the whole community. Artists interpret to them

beauty; men of science reveal the wonders of the laboratory; and all agree to co-operate to secure better government, schools, and manners.

The public schools have long endeavoured to place the key of elementary knowledge in the hands of all the children, by means of which they can unlock the treasures of intellectual wealth found in the free, circulating libraries of the towns. Of late, the public schools have greatly extended their activities and they are becoming centres of fellowship in the enjoyment of art, literature, science, and political education. Illustrated lectures with photographs and even moving pictures enable men to travel to the ends of the earth and thus escape from the narrow monotonous round of their routine employments, and range at large in the free fields of the imagination and reason.

William Ellery Channing, representative of the best spiritual life of New England, uttered memorable words, when he addressed a group of apprentices in Boston and encouraged them to cultivate their noblest faculties along with their daily labour, and his lectures to working-men, like those of F. W. Robertson in England, and of many a Catholic priest like Ketteler in Europe, touched the noblest chords in the human soul and lifted the labour question far above any mere problem of animal comfort and economic advantage.

In the literary form of allegory one of our prophetic spirits has compelled us to look forward to the improvements yet to be made, before we have done our full duty to men of toil.

*The success and failure of the Nineteenth Century.*¹

When the Nineteenth Century died, its Spirit descended to the vaulted chamber of the Past, where the

¹ W. RAUSCHENBUSCH, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. pp. 211-13.

Spirits of the dead Centuries sit on granite thrones together. When the new-comer entered, all turned toward him and the Spirit of the Eighteenth Century spoke: "Tell thy tale, brother. Give us the word of the human kind we left to thee."

"I am the Spirit of the Wonderful Century. I gave man the mastery over nature. Discoveries and inventions, which lighted the black space of the past like lonely stars, have clustered in a Milky-way of radiance under my rule. One man does by the touch of his hand, what the toil of a thousand slaves never did.

"Knowledge has unlocked the mines of wealth, and the hoarded wealth of to-day creates the vaster wealth of to-morrow. Man has escaped the slavery of Necessity and is free.

"I freed the thoughts of men. They face the facts and know. Their knowledge is common to all. The deeds of the East at eve are known in the West at morn. They send their whispers under the seas and across the clouds.

"I broke the chains of bigotry and despotism. I made men free and equal. Every man feels the worth of his manhood.

"I have touched the summit of history. I did for mankind what none of you did before. They are rich. They are wise. They are free."

The Spirits of the dead Centuries sat silent, with troubled eyes. At last, the Spirit of the First Century spoke for all.

"We all spoke proudly, when we came here in the flush of our deeds, and thou more proudly than we all. But as we sit and think of what was before us, and what has come after us, shame and guilt bear down our pride. Your words sound as if the redemption of man had come at last. Has it come?

"You have made men rich. Tell us, is none in pain with hunger to-day and none in fear of hunger to-morrow?

Do all children grow up fair of limb and trained for thought and action? Do none die before their time? Has the mastery of nature made men free to enjoy their lives and loves, and to live the higher life of the mind?

"You have made men wise. Are they wise or cunning? Have they learned to restrain their bodily passions? Have they learned to deal with their fellows in justice and love?

"You have set them free. Are there none, then, who toil for others against their will? Are all men free to do the work they love best?

"You have made men one. Are there no barriers of class to keep man and maid apart? Does none rejoice in the cause that makes the many moan? Do men no longer spill the blood of men for their ambition and the sweat of men for their greed?"

As the Spirit of the Nineteenth listened, his head sank to his breast.

"Your shame is already upon me. My great cities are as yours were. My millions live from hand to mouth. Those who toil longest have least. My thousands sink exhausted before their days are half spent. My human wreckage multiplies. Class faces class in sullen distrust. Their freedom and knowledge has only made men keener to suffer. Give me a seat among you, and let me think why it has been so."

The others turned to the Spirit of the First Century. "Your promised redemption has been long in coming."

"But it will come", he replied.

LECTURE SIX

PROVIDING FOR PROGRESS

"Social progress" is a phrase made familiar by repetition, and even by vociferation. It may be well to attach to the sonorous and seductive epithet some definite meaning. Provisionally we may define social progress as: 1. improvement of the physical and spiritual capacity and energy of a people; 2. improvement of the material conditions of existence of all the people; 3. enrichment of the knowledge, art, and character of the people through discovery, invention, education, and diffusion of the embodiments and expressions of our spiritual possessions. This definition is intended to include all that is true in both the aristocratic and democratic ideals, which have sometimes been set in violent contrast, and to reconcile in a loftier unity of conception all that is valuable in the notion of the Superman of Nietzsche, the Hero of Carlyle, and the altruism of Howard and Shaftesbury.

I. There are material conditions of national or racial progress. The best seed will refuse to produce plants in a soil of dry hot sand. The wise gardener will prepare food, moisture, and warmth for the tender shoots from which he hopes for fruit-bearing orchards.

Human beings require air, but they cannot live on air; they cannot live by bread alone, though bread they must have.

1. The first material condition of progress is general command of surplus wealth; of income beyond what is absolutely necessary to keep life in the body. In communities where the entire time and energy of the inhabitants

must be devoted to wresting from niggardly nature the bare means of existence, much advance in science, art, and idealism cannot be expected. Extreme poverty and continual misery discourage and thwart budding aspiration and ambition, and hold human beings down to the level of animality.

The surplus wealth may be in the form of personal and family possessions and income, or in the form of common property, as public schools, parks, museums, universities, libraries which are freely and easily accessible to all citizens.

But even where public property is extensive, the citizens must have a secure and adequate individual income in order to avail themselves of the use and enjoyment of the offered opportunities. The jaded and hungry mill hand passes with longing and disappointment, perhaps with bitter envy, the college which he is too poor to attend.

Not seldom the statistics of national wealth are so arranged as to obscure the inequality of the distribution of property and income. To a father struggling to support a large family on a wage of \$400 a year, it is cold comfort to be informed by the infallible statistician that the country has so many billion dollars or pounds or lakhs of taxable wealth, and the people an average of \$1000 to each person. It is only when we divide the entire population into groups, graded according to the amount of income, that we discover the deception practised upon us by the display of the sum total of national wealth. How the huge national granary dissolves into mist when distribution mocks the parents whose children cry of gnawing hunger after the last crumb of bread is devoured and nothing remains. In such a case, it is not the nation which is rich, but only a few millionaires and relatively few capitalists who control the instruments of production. The people is rich only when the product of toil is suitably divided so that all who labour

can have enough for the support of a decent and vigorous human existence.

2. The second material condition of social progress is leisure. The history of advancing culture demonstrates the value of leisure,—by which I mean freedom from the absolute necessity of exhausting vitality in the effort to earn or win the material means of existence. While life is spent in securing the means of living, it remains on the old level.

In the ancient civilizations,—Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman,—leisure was gained for a small class by means of slavery or serfdom, in all their grades and forms. Slaves were members of a conquered race or persons purchased for the convenience of the masters. It was thus that the citizens of ancient Athens gained time, care free, to discuss politics, philosophy, art, and to develop sculpture, architecture, poetry, and eloquence. That splendid culture rested on the bent backs of slaves,—caryatides whose weary shoulders carried the weight of beautiful temples. This is the historical justification of slavery; that it disciplined savage man to steady industry¹ and that it at least gave a starting-point for art, science, and philosophy in the leisure class. Occasionally, a slave of good stock in the mansion of a rich master, became a man of learning or of artistic power to create.

But while slavery was historically justified, it is no longer morally possible; it is not economical and it now offends our ethical beliefs, and cannot be tolerated among the civilized. In our day, in the Occident, the leisure class obtains its release from the constant struggle for bare existence by means of the wage-earning class, the so-called proletariat of great industrial cities. Many of these are worse off than slaves or serfs; their food and habitations

¹ K. BÜCHER, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*.

are inferior and their income is insecure. While the wage system is a vast advance on slavery, it is not wholly satisfactory, and must some day be greatly modified or abolished altogether.

The modern "social question" of "democracy" is, at bottom, this: how to extend the advantages of leisure from one class to all classes, without at the same time losing the advantages which arise from having a considerable number free from the coarser and ruder forms of labour.

The danger and evil of having a favoured leisure class are obvious. The privilege is abused; the true social function of leisure is not discovered or at least admitted; and leisure becomes the occasion of vanity, corrupting idleness, intrigue to relieve monotony, sensuality, diseases, decay, extinction of family by refusal to have children or by nervous exhaustion and incapacity. Revolt against these abuses is a hopeful sign of moral soundness. The inane, unscrupulous, and sensual indulgence of fashionable watering-places are held up to unceasing ridicule by caricaturists and dramatists. Physicians protest and advise rational pursuits as cure for "nerves". Of course, the preachers also protest; but that is regarded as their trade, professional talk, and it is discounted by those who most need it. Unfortunately, the Church assembles themselves only too often are used by the superficial votaries of fashion as a theatre for the display of their unearned wealth, whose responsibilities never have occurred to them.

The protest of democracy—and it grows out of the Christian view of the world and of life—is heard. The literature of the labour question and social legislation now show unmistakable signs of this protest,—which takes a negative and positive form.

The negative protest is directed to the destruction of abuses: to invectives against ostentation, excessive luxury, splendid furniture, costly banquets, lavish expenditures on

flowers and fireworks without corresponding satisfactions of any kind to any person.

The positive protest is in the nature of a demand for the extension of rational leisure to all workers and producers. In our analysis of recent social legislation in the Occident this aspect was apparent in laws restricting the hours of labour by the day or week; prohibiting Sunday labour, so far as possible; protecting certain festival days, and giving time to workers for duties as electors.

The leaders of trade-unions and their friends are entirely conscious of the meaning of this legislation. They openly and distinctly proclaim their conviction that a people is not a people of true culture and civilization which limits the chance of rational enjoyments to a small class. They know and clearly teach that a surplus of physical vitality and periods of leisure are essential conditions of general participation in the best things of life,—books, music, recreations, play, drama, prayer. They claim that all these are essentials of a real human life and that, therefore, all should have a chance to share in them. It will not answer to have one class going to decay from idleness and another and larger breaking down under excessive and unfair burdens. The wit of the world must consecrate itself to the solution of this problem.

3. Surplus vitality. There are material conditions of national and racial progress, surplus vitality, force. So long as a people is feeble, half-starved, possessed of only so much vitality as is necessary to keep alive long enough to propagate another feeble and exhausted generation, it cannot advance. There must be a surplus of vitality, beyond the absolute need of vegetation and reproduction. There are exceptional cases of feeble individuals, usually if not always descendants of strong ancestors, who have kept at least a flickering light of science or art or religion burning. Usually, such persons die early and leave only fragments

of fine work, hints of what they might do, if they had inherited sound constitutions.

Asceticism has developed occasionally very refined and beautiful characters,—mystics, poets, saints. But most of them died without heirs, and the vast majority lived dwarfed, crippled lives, and robbed the world of their best possible service. Not seldom, human nature has reacted against this starvation policy and plunged the votary into sensualism. In other instances, the injured body has avenged the violation of the laws of nutrition by giving the soul for its instrument a diseased brain, source of delusions, insanity, sensuality, idiocy, extravagance. The history of asceticism in the Christian Church is full of proofs of this declaration. It would be folly and wickedness for us to try that experiment over again.

Modern physiology and physiological psychology give us a solid basis for our conclusion. It actually measures the physical correlates of the most efficient mental action, the kinds and quantities of food required, and the régime of exercise, bathing, sunshine, ventilation, and recreation which is ordinarily most favourable to sane and vigorous spiritual energy. It is true, these general principles of mental and moral hygiene must be applied to individual cases with discretion and discrimination, and here the physician may be helpful. But take ten thousand students of universities, and their physical directors, if well-trained physicians, can prescribe in advance and for the great majority, a discipline which, if faithfully followed, will give the largest reserve of energy for the use of the intellect.

How can surplus of vitality and of leisure be made possible to the rank and file of wage-earners and their families?

The forces of nature must be subjected to the uses of man. For human muscular effort we must substitute animals, steam, water-power, wind-power, electricity. The

change from tools to machines, from foot-power to steam-power, is a significant point in the history of culture for a people. In using a tool man furnishes force; in using a machine he compels nature to toil for him; for human slavery is substituted the service of natural powers.

The fear that "labour-saving" machinery, steam-driven, will displace labour has proved to be groundless,—except for moments of transition, as when the electric light is turned off only to turn on a more powerful current and light of greater brilliancy. Machinery supports more people; releases humanity from common animal effort for the production of a greater variety of objects of use and enjoyment; and by increasing the product of industry makes higher wages and more prolonged leisure possible. It is machinery and better industrial methods and organization which bring leisure within the reach of the multitudes of wage-earners; not, however, without the united demands of the workers themselves and of social legislation to set standards and avoid the danger of unequal competition.

The ancient kings of Egypt built their pyramids with cheap slave labour, by sheer brute force, with a minimum of science. The modern edifices are built with free labour, at high wages, aided by the best machinery man has thus far been able to invent.

But along with technical advance and larger organization of industry has come exploitation of both wage-earners and machinery by the capitalists, a small group who control the instruments of production and hence hold first title to the product of labour, capital, and directing ability. If this were to move on unchecked, all or much of the advantage of modern invention might be lost to the majority, and we should simply return to chaos and ancient night. To prevent this, and with it the ruin of the nations, the people of all Western lands have interfered to harness

this new and gigantic power of Capital and Management and compel it to respect the common rights. "Social politics" has just this object for its goal.

II

THE EUGENIC POLICY IN RELATION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. **Natural Selection.** Progress has been won in the past by struggle for life and survival of the adapted and by the ministry of natural selection. No one has a disposition to deny, in the face of modern biology, the upward tendency of evolution from humble organisms at the margin of sea and land to the "human form divine". The famous and epoch-making studies of Darwin and his fellow-workers and successors have illuminated this wonderful process, and explained many of the causal forces. On a limited territory, with restricted means of existence, the various species of plants and animals have struggled for place and nutrition. In the flow and ebb of vitality there were victories for the strong and the cunning, destruction for the unadapted. Countless ages of trial and failure have passed in this process, and, in general, we may describe this process as progressive, from lower to higher, from base to noble, from brute to genius.

But we cannot ignore the cost of natural selection. The process, while effective, was severe and attended by enormous waste of life, by pain, by suffering. With organisms which had no very sensitive nervous systems this method was not so serious; when we come to the higher creatures, and especially to man, we are in the realm of the most mysterious tragedy, where reason is baffled and our ethical standards seem to have no place. The "fittest" to survive are not always the "best"; it depends on environment, soil, nutrition, and sunshine. The finest often perish; the brutal egoist succeeds, — unless society helps the best.

2. Natural selection produced sensitive organisms, parental sympathy, domestic and tribal solidarity, and powers which enable man to

Look before and after
And pine for what is not.

One of the manifestations of human sympathy has been public and private charity, already discussed. When the tragedy of natural selection became intolerable, when the spectacle of suffering could no longer be endured, this instinct of sympathy built systems and institutions of relief for the feeble infant, the sick and lame, the insane, the epileptic, the idiot.

Instinct has no large foresight, and benevolent people did not often foresee the remoter consequences of an unthinking method of mitigating distress. Many do not realize the danger even yet. One of the unexpected results of charity without the directing wisdom of science is an actual selection of the unfit which tends to degradation of mankind. Charity has actually helped to produce immense multitudes of the insane, the epileptic, the imbecile, the criminal, and even yet is not always conscious of what it is doing.

3. Out of the recognition of the extravagant cost of natural selection, and the ruin wrought by blind charity, and the development of biological science, allied with social science, has arisen the recent Eugenic Policy. This eugenic policy may be defined as a concerted, purposive selection of parents, in view of the welfare of the future race.

From very early times, and in all countries, men have noted the importance of selecting domestic plants and animals with reference to desirable qualities. In the *Laws of Manu* there are hints on the subject of selecting a wife which indicate a very general observation of the results of selection in human marriage. I have not yet found any allusion there to choice of a husband, although wherever

there is freedom of choice feminine selection is an important factor, as Darwin showed.

Plato developed a eugenic policy which was entirely definite in its purpose and method. His object we can still ponder with profit; his methods would not bear discussion in modern respectable society. We cannot go back to the ancient method of murdering feeble infants.

The genius of Goethe also anticipated the modern eugenic policy:

Insane, at first, appears a great intent;
We yet shall laugh at chance in generation;
A brain like this, for genuine thinking meant,
Will henceforth be a thinker's sure creation. (*Faust, II.*)

Sir Francis Galton deserves vast honour for initiating a really scientific investigation of the laws of inheritance and the conditions of promoting a eugenic policy. Karl Pearson and his co-workers are pursuing the study with all the appliances of scientific technique; and in all the circles of biological, medical, and social science the laws of inheritance are the subject of profound investigation.

This eugenic policy takes two directions,—negative selection, or the humane elimination of the obviously unfit, and positive selection, or the ethical and religious encouragement of vigorous and intelligent citizens to produce families of reasonable size.

III

STARTING-POINTS OF PROGRESS

Thus far we have considered only the material conditions of culture and human progress: surplus income, vitality, leisure, and the selection of the better types of human beings for parenthood.

But experience shows that these conditions of progress are not themselves progress, and may be abused. Much depends on the "temptations upward", and on the

"up-draft" of life. Canon and Mrs. Barnett have told us that our problem is to translate "needs" into "wants". An entire people may go to ruin with plenty of wealth, health, and leisure as their starting-point.

Unless a young man of wealth has some motive in life, some worthy end, some ideal interest, he must inevitably become a parasite, a loafer, a dilettante, perhaps a low debauché. If leisure, health, and wealth are not vitalized by a lofty, large, and noble purpose, they are sure to end in destruction.

The materialist view of history is one-sided; it presents the external conditions of progress as the germs of progress; as if rich soil did not need good seed and cultivation; it assumes that opportunity to advance in culture is ample assurance that the soul will select the best and follow it. This is a reading of history which ignores an immense range of facts. It is refuted by a thousand observations of the children of wealthy families and even of comfortable artisans and farmers who have acquired a surplus income, above the mere animal needs of existence, and yet are stagnant, inert, a swamp of moral malaria.

What further than means and vitality and leisure are required to insure the progress of a community, of a great people? To this deeper and more difficult question we must now address ourselves.

The actual progress of a people depends first of all on a novel idea. Mere repetition of models is not progress in the highest sense; though diffusion is also necessary.

This novel idea may be in any one of several spheres: 1. in science; 2. in art; 3. in philosophy; 4. in religion; or in some new application of the principles of science in invention, organization, administration.

It is true that provision must be made for socializing these novel ideas and also for improving the physical basis of inherited structure and force and adaptation by

selection or by nurture. But first there must be the beginning of some spiritual possession which no one in all the race has ever known before or realized in picture, music, verse, or institution.

Physical qualities of the race may be improved, some think, while others deny,—by careful selection, according to the principles of horticulture and stock-raising. Perhaps the number of persons of rare and superior ability may by this process be greatly increased; possibly brains superior to those of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Goethe, Shakespeare may yet be grown. We are not in a position to deny such possibilities.

But, what we are absolutely certain can be achieved is the augmentation of the spiritual riches and traditions of the race in science, art, literature, practical invention.

In the biological sense, none of this is inherited; each child must make it his own by personal effort. But in the wider social sense, this tradition or treasure of culture can be safely committed to writing or photography and engraving, or to painting, sculpture, and architecture, and so be handed down undiminished, yea, constantly enlarged and enriched, from generation to generation.

It is not so much the material form which endures and carries forward this choice inheritance; for, buildings, manuscripts, pictures, books fall to pieces under the pitiless tooth of time. Only in fresh reproductions, new editions, multiplied re-issues, copies, is the spiritual treasure transmitted, unimpaired, improved.

The poet and the saint are thus among the initiators of progress; they bring us to a purer air and a loftier view.

One of the most inspiring leaders of Modern Italy, Joseph Mazzini, has voiced the eternal truth:

No, eternal God! The Word is not all fulfilled; Thy thought, the thought of the world, not all revealed. That thought creates still, and will continue to create for ages incalculable by man. The

ages that have passed have but revealed to us some fragments of it. Forms are modified and dissolved — religious beliefs are exhausted. The human spirit leaves them behind, as the traveller leaves behind the fires that warmed him through the night, and seeks another scene. But religion remains: the idea is immortal, survives the dead forms, and is reborn from its own ashes. The progressive evolution of the thought of God, of which our world is the visible manifestation, is unceasingly continuous.

Faith requires an *aim* capable of embracing life as a whole. . . . It requires an earnest unalterable conviction that that aim will be realized; a profound belief in a mission, and the obligation to fulfil it; and the consciousness of a supreme power watching over the path of the faithful towards its accomplishment. Those elements are indispensable to faith; and when any one of them is wanting, we shall have sects, schools, political parties, but no faith; no constant hourly sacrifice for the sake of a great religious idea.

IV

This spiritual heritage is not increased by men of genius alone, although their initiation is precious and glorious. In the advance of science every well-trained laboratory student has a chance of adding at least some little item to the sum of knowledge; and so throughout the civilized world thousands of young men and women are busy following the suggestions of pioneers and exceptional professors and bringing out new facts and aspects of truth. The individual is a pigmy; the University is Leviathan.

Novel ideas are discovered and expressed by the "superman", the higher personality. In the best schools of design the students are encouraged to follow their own fancies, to observe carefully the infinitely varied aspects of vegetation, animal life, and the human form divine, and compose new pictures. Out of all these trials new combinations of colour and line and form emerge and become the permanent possessions of the race.

Humble journalists, newspaper reporters, quick and shrewd observers of life, sometimes hit upon a telling

phrase or epithet which gives to the whole community a more powerful means of expressing and communicating its inmost thought of feeling. In the great manufacturing establishments, as is well known, the ordinary mechanics and foremen every year work out, step by step, slight improvements in machinery or organization or handling materials or transporting products or keeping accounts, and these improvements are made general property by publication and imitation.

Obscure talents come out in adversity. Blanco White, it is said, wrote little that is famous; but one little sonnet the world will not willingly forget, while men aspire and hope and doubt and fear.

Mysterious night, when our first parents knew
Thee by report divine and heard thy name,
Did they not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of light and blue?
Yet who could think, while leaf and insect stood
Revealed, to countless worlds thou mad'st us blind?
When Hesperus with the hosts of heaven came,
Lo! all creation widened on man's view.
Why do we then shun death with anxious strife?
If light can thus deceive, wherefore not life?

Many a humble writer has kindled a fire which has grown to conflagration. Illustrations may be drawn from *social hygiene* and *medicine*. For example: The *Crèche*, established by Firmin Marbeau, in 1844, in Paris, was rapidly adopted in Europe and America. The *Goutte de lait* of Dr. Dufour and the *Consultation de Nourrissons* of Dr. Budin, the inventions of Babcock and of Sohlet, to test and sterilize milk, are examples of new methods of applying science to better conditions of human life and improve the works of philanthropy; and they have been published and imitated far and wide. But imagination and invention have been quick and helpful in the life of many an unheralded

country doctor, in ten thousand workshops, in countless primary schools, in farms and gardens.

The Superman, if he be as unselfish as William the Silent, or Abraham Lincoln, may render a conspicuous service to mankind; and he is not superior, unless he serves his fellows. He is mean, if he takes advantage of his superior force to injure others. The genuine Superman is in

All the circle of the wise,
The perfect flower of human time.

And, moving up from higher to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire.

(TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*.)

V

The régime of freedom of thought and speech and publication is necessary to the unfolding of novel ideas and higher personalities.

One problem of the modern nation is:—how to discover, stimulate, encourage, direct, educate these exceptional spirits. For genius is also under law; for it there must be a sufficient cause; and causes can be discovered and effects produced. It is difficult to say how much fine talent has been overlooked in the past and present, or even suppressed, by poverty, oppression, mockery, bigotry, custom.

A community which really desires progress, must provide room and freedom. Trees are dwarfed by depriving them of nutrition. Certain methods of wrapping infants prevent the development of muscles, retard growth, lower vitality. The baby must cry and kick, if it lives thoroughly and becomes strong and agile. Freedom is, of course, dangerous. A wheel-barrow is not so dangerous as a loco-

motive, but it is also more limited in its usefulness. A people which cannot tolerate with good humour a certain liberty of speech and writing, a certain violence to conventions and creeds, cannot hope to march abreast with the advancing peoples.

America has learned this lesson, in some degree, by bitter experience. It was once intolerant and persecuting and narrow, in a great degree; its established Churches persecuted dissenters even to death or drove them from their homes. They shut the mouths of some of their ablest men.

How do we know what a man can or will say, until he has said it? Can discovery, invention, and novel application be stimulated, encouraged, directed by wise social action? Undoubtedly, as the history of education demonstrates.

Genius may strike out new routes by land, or sea, or air without apparent help from teachers; but, as a matter of fact, Socrates, Plato, Gœthe, Shakespeare were children of their own age as well as its leaders. Men of genius are no longer regarded as accidents and mysteries. They are the result of all that went before, though we gladly confess they are also new beginnings of better things.

Shakespeare first gathered up into himself all the ideas of his time, taking hints from the Bible, from the conversation of his neighbours about all human activities, from Italian literature, from translations of the ancient classics, from folk songs and stories current in his group of acquaintances from childhood upward. Then he combined all this wealth of words, images, ideas, in a wonderful composition to which he lent the touch of his exceptional powers of organization, invention, and artistic formation. A Shakespeare could never arise in Central Africa; or, if he could by miracle arise, he could not make himself understood. Genius is at once a social product and a social cause.

We have found that the best way is to let men speak and act with considerable range of liberty and hold them responsible for the effects. We have found that while, under this system, men say and do many foolish, silly, wasteful, wicked things, on the whole, this generally corrects itself or can be corrected without too much interference. If a few people foolishly found a new sect, we let them pay their own expenses, and this tends to make them reflect on the unwisdom of schism. When they find the burden is heavy, they are likely to seek for co-operation, and this calls for reasoning, criticism, debate, larger breadth of view. After a few generations the narrow sect becomes catholic.

We have discovered—also by trial of errors and sins—that persecution, intolerance, suppression of thought are evidences of scepticism, even of infidelity. To use the power of a majority to exterminate dissent is not a sign of great faith in truth, but of doubt of its inherent ability to convince, its want of adaptation to the human reason and to social needs.

The amazing achievements of modern science have increased our confidence in the value of our method, the precision and reliability of our instruments of research. Among these methods are those of discussion, publication, controlled experimentation, practical trial, and competent criticism,—which, again, could not exist without freedom and tolerance of differences. Nothing makes capable and honest men more careful about their studies and statements than the fear of criticism of the specialists. The real scholar knows that mere popularity means little; he cares absolutely nothing for the majority vote, which is usually wrong. What he does wish to win is the deserved approval of men who have a right to speak and who have tested his conclusions.

The modern scientific man is in revolt against Church and clerical authority. He is not noisy or defiant, but sim-

ply and quietly determined. There is no longer need of fighting.

A. D. White, himself a religious man, in his book on *Warfare of Science and Theology*, has given abundant proof and illustration and explanation of this fact. No one who is familiar with university men has any doubt about it. It is taken for granted that a scientific man will not permit himself to be influenced by what the Church or its clergy think, unless these are in sympathy with progressive methods. The reasons are obvious:

1. The Church in the past has made too many mistakes and committed too many wrongs against men of intellect and progress to accept its demands without criticism.

2. The method of reasoning from premises already accepted as beyond criticism, vitiates the scientific process from the beginning. It is the foundation of knowledge of which the scientific man wishes to be sure and by an experimental and inductive procedure.

3. The clergy, as a rule, have not had modern, scientific training. They have been brought up on grammar, literature, more or less classics; the books they study were written long before modern scientific methods had been developed.

4. The clergy are not specialists in science. They have no right to dictate conclusions to men outside their own field,—if, then!

This quiet but determined refusal of scientific men to accept the guidance and authority of the Church does not always mean irreligious doubt. Many scientific men are devout and profoundly interested in religious life and work. But just so far as the clergy insist on the acceptance of doctrines which conflict with the conclusions or methods of science, just so far do they adopt a policy which tends to make men revolt against religion itself, because they see it identified with bigotry and intolerance. These are lessons we have learned by trial, and now, as a result, many of

the most enthusiastic leaders of science are earnest religious men, and the clergy have come to regard higher education as worthy of their consecrated labours. The unhappy and ruinous conflicts of the past are almost at an end.

VI

SELF-GOVERNMENT

As the wage-earners share in the intellectual and political life of the time, they naturally desire to be themselves creative, causal factors in the world. Education and religion stimulate consciousness of personality. The new political power which has come to workers in all nations of the Occident has given them a new sensation of personal worth. Very rapidly, under the influence of socialistic agitators, they are learning the full import of the suffrage. In the shop and mine they are not consulted; they are nonentities; they toil and suffer, but must be silent; there they are disfranchised. But on election day they can vote for the representatives in legislatures of cities, states, nations. There they are aware of activity in government, which is an agreeable change for a man from the passive rôle of the workplace. When the wage-earners become fully aware of their power through legislation over the "captains of industry", they will assert themselves more and more positively. We can easily see what is before us. It is not a bloody revolution in which the "Have-nots" will take violent possession of the property of the rich; it will be simply and quietly the increasing control and direction of corporations, in the common interest of all, by the legal representatives of all.

Are the wage-earners of the Western World yet prepared for this vast responsibility? Have they the ability, the training, the technical knowledge, the foresight, the self-mastery which will make it safe to wield such enormous powers of control over the titanic forces of capital,

industry, and commerce? Few would be hardy enough to venture a prophecy. Certainly, bankruptcy would fall upon any people whose business were in the direct control of the wage-earners in the present state of popular education.

But public management of business, responsive to universal suffrage, would not necessarily mean that all the details of administration would be voted upon at the elections. That would be absurd. It would mean only that the people would select their representatives in legislatures, charge them to carry out a general policy of common advantage, and displace them, if they fail.

Preparation for this larger measure of political control of industry and commerce has begun in the trade-union. There, as nowhere else, the wage-earners actually participate in discussions of their economic interests and exercise their right to vote on general policies affecting their income, their health, their happiness, their lives.¹

Some of the most sagacious capitalist managers understand the necessity of this preparation of the toiling masses for their larger responsibilities, and have begun to take their employ  s, in varying degrees, into their confidence.

The *Conseils de Prud'hommes* of France for over a hundred years have brought employers and employ  s together in council to consider questions affecting the interests of both parties. The industrial courts of Germany and the joint insurance committees have performed a similar service. The committees and boards of conciliation in England and the United States and Canada are useful in the same field. In many large establishments the representatives chosen by the directors and by the employ  s sit on terms of equality about a table and learn from each other and reach agreement after a patient and

¹ See S. & B. Webb, *Industrial Democracy*.

fair hearing. All this is part of the education of the working-men for the greater responsibility which the future will inevitably bring to them.

The humane sentiment is a causal factor in this progressive movement. On this point, I am happy to be able to cite the recent work of one of our most distinguished economists in the oldest American university, one whose accurate scholarship commands respect and whose critical judgment is beyond dispute. In his hands political economy is no longer the "dismal science".

Professor Taussig (*Principles of Economics*, II, 323) says: "I know of no satisfactory evidence to show whether the chances of illness uncared for, of disabling accident, penniless old age, are greater now than in former times. But the modern world is clearly more sensitive to the evils. Here, as elsewhere, conditions accepted in former days as matters of course are now regarded as intolerable, and a strenuous effort is made to remedy them."

Speaking (p. 334) of the fact that great nations can always find money for war, though they are frightened at the cost of helping labouring men to more security and comfort: "If the impulse of sympathy were as strong as the ancient and brutal fighting instinct, we should hear little of financial obstacles in the way of schemes for far-reaching social improvement."

"The moving force in bringing about all the mass of labour regulation and restriction has been the great wave of human sympathy which has come over the civilized world during the last century and a half, and has so profoundly (often unconsciously) influenced the attitude of all men on social and political problems. Altruism has widened its scope; the suffering of fellow-men and of women and children distresses as it never did before. Wretchedness that was accepted as a matter of course a few centuries ago, is now not to be endured" (p. 290).

"This appeal to a half-selfish motive, to the pride of race and nationality, no doubt has its effect. *But the main force is that religion of humanity which aims to make life happier for all* The civilized world is not worse than it has been; it is much better; and better most of all in this regard, that all human suffering hurts to the quick, and more and more of public and private effort is given to lessening it."

VII

THE DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF NATION-BUILDING IN THE WEST

It must be evident that people dwelling on the same territory can never accomplish the highest and grandest achievements without co-operation to a common end. National life is precious, but it is costly, and the price must be paid. The people of Europe were originally divided into small groups or tribes which were constantly at war with each other and too weak to resist the murderous and destructive invasions of warlike barbarians who swept over the continent in successive waves of conquest far down into our era.

Powerful kings welded together many of these groups, and Charlemagne's vast dream, though not even yet fully realized, has been ever since his day a potent influence. During the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic Church provided the only continuous international bond of one faith, one language, one standard of culture. With all its errors and evils, it should have credit for this important service, without which modern national spirit and cosmopolitan co-operation could not exist.

Among the most powerful political creations of the West are the British, French, Italian, and German nations, which are typical examples of a universal tendency to bring connected peoples under a single flag, symbol of a common social ambition. In these vast political combi-

nations, force and conquest tend to become more and more subordinate factors. The unifying forces are not merely likeness of race and beliefs, but tolerance of differences and co-operation for common ends. It is entirely natural that all Germans should look back with exultant pride to the magnificent educational, literary, political, and religious leaders, from Luther down to Bismarck, who welded related but divided groups into one puissant nation, leader of the world in science, in arts, in industries, in commerce with its flag at the mast-top of many a vessel on all the seas.

Who can read the story of Garibaldi, Cavour, Mazzini, and King Immanuel, and their heroic and triumphant sacrifices for a united nation, without sharing the Italian enthusiasm for the faith-born courage which shaped out of an aggregation of feeble and subject states a splendid and powerful nation?

The little Republic of Switzerland has its story worth telling, of a federation of cantons, with people of French, Italian, and German origin, with three languages spoken in their parliament, yet all bravely and manfully uniting to maintain their independence, Catholics and Protestant labouring shoulder to shoulder.

We of America have witnessed another successful experiment of a quite different kind, but of equal moment, the dominion of Canada. I have traversed its vast territory, wider than my own United States, and have learned by personal observation to respect and rejoice in the noble enterprise of a new nation, free, and yet federated with the Empire on which the sun never sets, loyal and stronger for its loyalty. There also Catholic and Protestant, English, Scotch, and French, have learned to respect their differences and to unite in one mighty co-operative enterprise, which must benefit the millions of its growing population.

Will you permit a citizen of the United States to at least mention the formation of his own nation? In all history, was

ever tragedy and triumph more strangely mingled? We had to pass through the fiery baptism of a horrible Civil War that we might be washed clean of the iniquities of slavery and might establish for ever the fundamental law that we have a nation and not merely a loose federation of divided states; and in this faith the North and the South now loyally agree. Our national unity is again being tested in another manner, perhaps not less severe: millions of immigrants crowd our cities and bring with them their different languages, antagonistic beliefs, strange customs, ignorance of our history, laws, and institutions. One would expect dissolution and intestine feud; and we do have difficulty. But we see already before our eyes Celt and Saxon, Italian and Hungarian, Catholic and Jew, each retaining his folk-stories, songs, ritual, and language, but all proud of being Americans¹. They bring their several flags, but the stars and stripes float over every school-house. They worship, each in his own way, but there is one God. They have their alien dialects, but all learn English, the most widely diffused of all languages. And no more loyal and patriotic American can be found even in New England than these same immigrants, when they have entered into their Land of Promise and tasted the sweet air of its liberty and founded their own homes in security under the shelter of its constitution. But a great price must be paid for this union and power of a nation: tolerance, justice, and a chance for the poorest and the most obscure of all citizens to rise as far as his ability will enable him to climb. Unless this is an essential and even religious faith of all, we may have an aggregation of tribes dwelling on the same territory, but a nation we cannot have. Despotism may, for a time, hold together discordant groups as with hoops of iron, but despotism, privilege, intolerance are incapable of creating a free nation; only kind-

¹ See MARY AUSTEN, *The Promised Land*.

ness, justice, education, common faith can achieve true nationality.

VIII

Educational agencies, organized into a social system, are necessary to stimulate, guide, discipline, and inspire personal progress everywhere.

Under the title "Education" we must here include all the institutions created by society for stimulating the intelligence, refining the taste, and invigorating the character of a people.

1. We have the institutions and agencies for teaching what is already known,—in general the formation of elementary and secondary schools, of churches, of colleges, of newspapers and popular magazines, of museums and galleries of art, and of theatres.

2. We have the institutions and agencies for discovering new truth, for discovering higher talents and genius, for developing creative gifts in all directions.

Illustrations are found in laboratories of chemistry, physics, and the biological and psychological sciences; in the institutes for medical research,—as those of Koch, Pasteur, Carnegie, Rockefeller (N. Y.), and many others. In certain schools of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and dramatic expression, the discovery of new ideas and of creative ability is a conscious end in the minds of the directors.

Education has been called the "short cut" to mastery of science. The traditions of culture are already vast and they are increasing rapidly.

One problem of education is to simplify and select the essential principles of the sciences, those bodies of knowledge which all citizens must possess in order to live a worthy human life.

Another problem of education is to help the child to move rapidly forward, without friction, waste, loss, or re-

petition, to this mastery of the essentials of science, art, morality, faith. It is now declared that at least three precious years can be saved by proper arrangement of studies in childhood and youth. But this division between learning and discovery must not be made too absolute. In fact, from the kindergarten upward, the method of education, of instruction, should be such as to encourage and stimulate originality. Nature itself provides the starting-points in the special "genius" of each pupil. That education is perverted which seeks to "mould" the character of the child. The function of the teacher is at once more humble and reverent and more sublime than that. For, the true educator is an interpreter of the Creator, watches with reverence the expressions of personal character, and offers them adequate guidance.

In *"The Wood-Carver of 'Lympus'"*, Miss M. E. Waller has told a charming and inspiring story of a young man whose college career was cut short by the fall of a log which paralysed his legs and made him a helpless cripple. At first he was bitter, desperate, and blasphemed life and God. But a gentle, strong, wise man from the city on a summer vacation in the hills found him, opened up to him the possibilities of artistic wood-carving, sent him books about sculptors and drawings of fine work, aroused his æsthetic interest, set him to the task of self-education, and made of the hopeless, useless cripple a happy and useful producer of beautiful furniture.

It is a type of some of the best things done by our public schools, schools of art and industry. I have seen it in reform schools of Italy, France, Germany, and America, where crippled souls from the slums of great cities have found themselves and risen from the slimy gutter to places of honour and beauty.

The outlook is measured by the vision of religious faith. The hope of immortality of redeemed, purified, and

enlightened spirits opens a new universe for progress. Doubt is narrow. "A Sadducee asking his way to Utopia will never find it." The true spirit says: "I am here as God's child, God's agent, a creative force, a divine will moving toward higher ends. I am here to transform this world . . . in accordance with a divine ideal revealed to me progressively by my endeavour. . . . Day by day is revealed to me the deeper meaning of human life, and some time there shall be revealed the blessed mystery of it all, then shall we know what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." (S. D. Crothers, D. D.)

IX

We have come to the conclusion of our interpretation of the Social Programmes of the West; and I am loathe to close this interview with my friendly hearers in the East.

Permit me to sum up all I have tried to indicate in these crowded moments, in one phrase whose full significance came out in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, my Master. He loved to speak of "The Kingdom of God", and the character of the King he set forth in the universal prayer without one sectarian note:

Our Father who art in heaven;
Thy Kingdom come,
Thy Will be done,
On earth as it is in heaven.

Our great English poet, Tennyson, has taught us to think of the parliament of man, the federation of the world, of a time when war drums will throb no longer and battle flags shall be furled. But that is only a political idea, and politics is merely an instrument, not an ultimate value. It is in the *Symphony* of Lanier that we find a typical expression of the harmony of all human hopes, interests, and high duties; and I will let my poet countryman win my faith:

The Symphony (S. LANIER)

Life! Life! thou sea-figure, writ from east to west,
 Love, Love alone can pour
 On thy dissolving score
 Of harsh half-phrasings,
 Blotted ere writ,
 And double erasings
 Of chords most fit.

Yea, Love, sole music master blest,
 May read thy weltering palimpsest.
 To follow Time's dying melodies through,
 And never to lose the old in the new,
 And ever to solve the discords true—
 Love alone can do.

And ever Love hears the poor-folks crying,
 And ever Love hears the women's sighing,
 And ever sweet knighthood's death defying,
 And ever wise childhood's deep implying,
 But never a trader's glozing and lying.

And yet shall Love himself be heard,
 Though long deferred, though long deferred;
 O'er the modern waste a dove hath whirred:
 Music is love in search of a word.

And I will let the poet laureate of my motherland
 speak, with still clearer accent, of the supreme element of
 influence in all that is best and most enduring in our
 Western World:

Follow you the Star that lights a desert pathway, yours or mine,
 Forward, till you see the highest Human Nature is divine.

Follow Light, and do the Right—for man can half control
his doom—
 Till you find the deathless Angel seated in the vacant tomb.

Forward, let the stormy moment fly and mingle with the Past.
 I that loathed, have come to love him. Love will
conquer at the last.

Tennyson sings of the better day coming for all mankind (*In Memoriam*):

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, happy bells, across the snow;
The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring out the grief that saps the mind,
For those that here we see no more;
Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.

Ring out a slowly dying cause,
And ancient forms of party-strife;
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.

Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
The faithless coldness of the times;
Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes,
But ring the fuller minstrel in.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the 'Christ that is to be'.

